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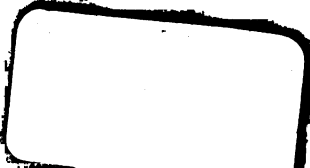
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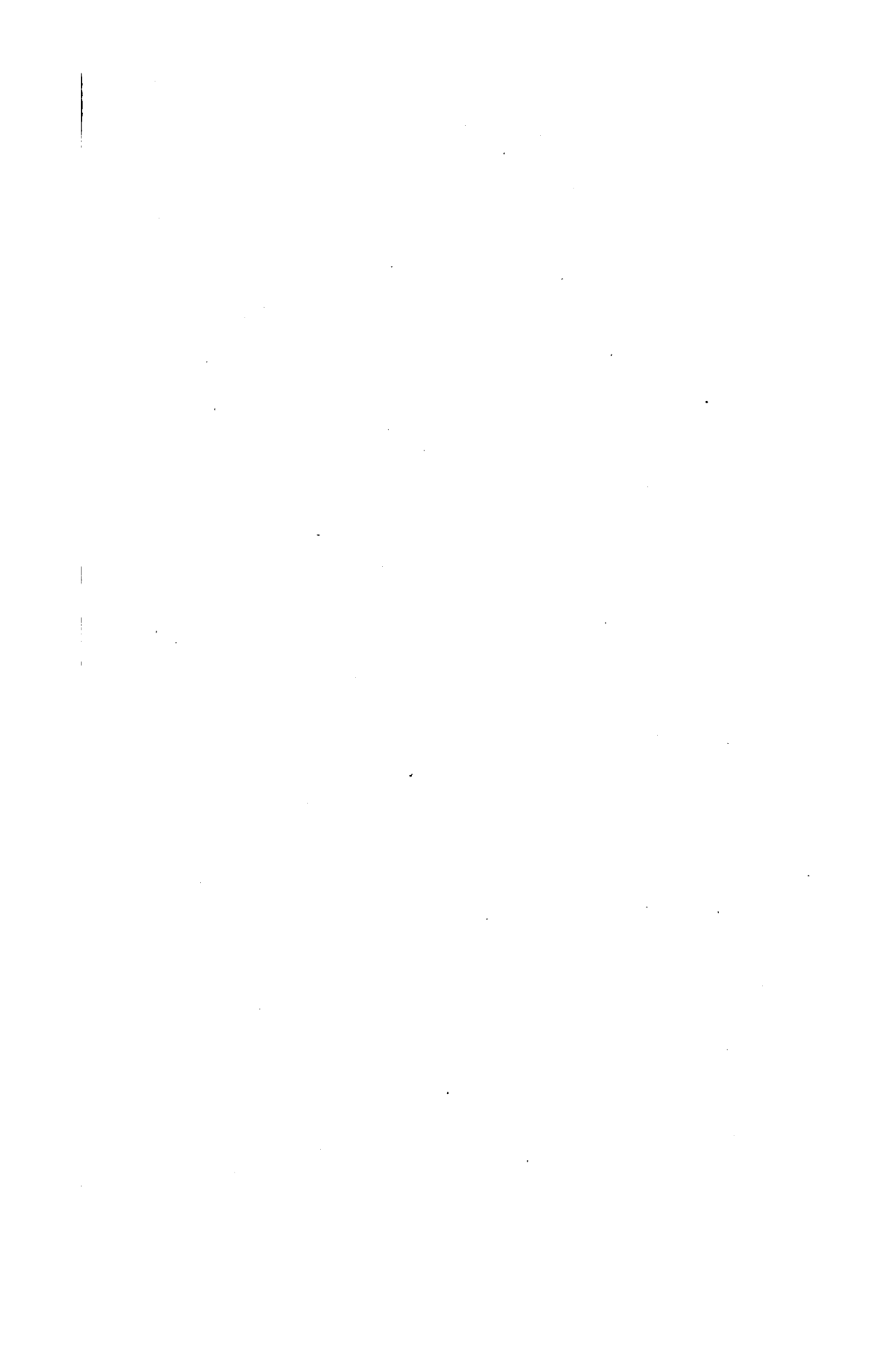
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HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART,

PREPARED BY

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FROM LECTURES DELIVERED BY

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AT

HARVARD COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

BOSTON:

ALFRED MUDGE & SON, PRINTERS, 24 FRANKLIN STREET.

1891.

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•HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART.

CHAPTER I.

BEAUTY AND THE IMAGINATION.

It is through a proper understanding of the historic life of man that we secure a knowledge of the capabilities of the race, and of the relation of man to his fellows and to the earth on which he lives. Man is not a solitary, selfish being ; he is bound to his fellows by ties infinite in their nature, and unless he recognizes his obligations, he does not perform his part in the universal struggle by which the race has lifted itself out of barbarism up into the civilization of our modern world. The conquest of nature by man has been very slow. In the barbaric stage of human life nature seemed too strong for man ; indeed, even the partial control of nature is a very late acquisition. Man, struggling desperately for existence, has very little time for the cultivation of his higher nature.

History begins when man becomes conscious of himself as a being which has a continuous life, and feels a desire to leave a memory behind him. This history goes back scarcely more than seven thousand years, — hardly a day in the whole period of man's existence.

We are apt to foreshorten history. We cannot tell how long ago it was that the first historic savage built his hut and made his first fire. One of the most important acquisitions, as well as one of the most difficult of accomplishment, was the discovery of the use of fire. In its importance to civilization it is second to no other discovery. Suppose we take one

hundred thousand years as the probable age of man. Of nine tenths of that period the record is wanting, except for a few prehistoric monuments. Of this blank, dumb period we know almost nothing. Constantly forgetting his own inventions, the slave of Nature, cruelly treated by her, and yet through her training disciplining himself, man slowly climbs up with constant falls and bruises, and after a hundred thousand years of unrecorded misery, becomes conscious of his position as standing between two generations. He desires to transmit his experience; he invents language and erects monuments to perpetuate his memory.

The acquisitions made by man, whether in prehistoric or in historic times, are all embodied in the arts. In its broadest sense, art may perhaps be defined as any habitual labor requiring skill, discipline, and intelligence. We can speak as properly of the art of building a nest as of the art of sculpture or of painting. Art in this broad sense is the right way of working for a definite thing. We have to go back to the Greeks, as in all branches of intelligence, to get first-class notions with respect to the arts. Aristotle, who organized knowledge for the Greeks, thus defined art: "All things are done by art of which the idea exists in the mind." Mill, in his very admirable inaugural address delivered before the University of St. Andrew's, said: "If I were to define art, I should be inclined to call it the endeavor after perfection in execution." Indeed, generally speaking, every art seems to aim at something good.

The arts of expression are the chosen modes of transmitting and perpetuating the gains of civilization. This is what makes them important at all times, and gives to the study of them a peculiar interest. Those arts which have reference to the attainments of the mind are called "Fine Arts." The term "fine arts" then means any labor directed to the expression of thought, feeling, or emotion; and consequently that labor which is directed to the expression of beauty of form becomes a fine art. We have different branches of the fine arts, as

poetry, oratory, dancing, painting, architecture, sculpture, and music,—whatever modes of expression man may invent to give to his fellows a knowledge of what is passing in his inmost soul. We may approach a somewhat satisfactory definition of the fine arts if we designate them as “the arts of expression, of which the object is to be a perfect form of the idea.”

Language is the primal and universal art. The formation of language in every case has been prehistoric. Language at first was simply vocal, but with the advancement of civilization it became more pliant, until, by a most splendid process of the imagination, it was able to express, not merely the names of objects, but the ideas which man develops in life. Then came the change from a spoken to a written and visible language; this is man's greatest achievement, but it was a long time before literature, the most important of the fine arts, was developed. Literature at first was committed to the memory of man; the moment it became written, it was safe from the defects of memory. A great building, as the pyramid, may outlive the literature of many races; but a pyramid appeals to a very few in comparison with the wide influence of the written forms of expression. One copy of a poem may be the source of joy to a thousand; the same thing may be heard in remote regions. In the last four centuries literature has received additional stimulus in the invention of the printing-press, which has given to it increased weight in civilization. Unfortunately, however, the invention has had the effect of killing out most of the other forms of expression, so that now man is dependent on literature for the expression of his mental condition. This is not altogether an advantage, for there are sentiments better expressed through a painting than through poetry or prose. These other arts have had a very great influence in the history of the race; they appeal simply to the eye, and through the eye they produce their effect on the mind. Music, oratory, and the other arts of sound appeal to the ear; but these are of less impor-

tance to a knowledge of the history of civilization than the arts of construction and design, because the impressions which they produce are but transitory.

Now, it is through the imagination that we comprehend the greatest works of man in poetry and art. On this account the imagination deserves special culture, for it enables the reason to act justly on the facts presented to it. The imagination looks before and after ; only through the imagination can we live in other lives than our own. Sympathy is the great source of love, and "love is the fulfilling of the law." The expression of sympathy in action results from the application of the imaginative faculty to our relations with other beings. In imagination we enter into the past life of the world, and are able, by comparison, to form a proper estimate of our own civilization. In America we have a false conception of our position. We have passed through the buoyant stage of youth, and have come to a more dangerous stage, in which we believe ourselves superior, not only in political institutions, but, on the whole, in the moral and intellectual also. There can be no greater fallacy than this, no greater danger to a nation. Self-knowledge is attained only by a comparison with what has been done by men of other times. This can be done by the exercise of the imagination alone. It is only through the imagination that we can comprehend the greatest works of man in poetry and art. Poetry underlies all the fine arts. We have a large body of English poets, but without culture of the imagination we read poetry with a lack of appreciation, and fail to receive the pleasure and the ennobling influences which come from sharing the vital life of the most vigorous intellects that the world has known. There are no recreations so fitted to enlarge, ennoble, dignify, and invigorate life as the recreations found in communion and sympathy with the greatest minds. Through such communion the happiness of life is indefinitely increased, and this is the one source of happiness in a man's power that nothing can take from him, except loss of mind. Then, too,

if we enlarge the intellectual life, we enlarge and invigorate the moral life also.

Finally, it is only through the imagination that we come to the appreciation of beauty. Beauty is the end of all true life. John Stuart Mill aptly quotes Goethe as saying: "The beautiful is greater than the good, for it includes the good, and adds something to it: it is the good made perfect and fitted with all the collateral perfections which make it a finished and completed thing." There is no absolute beauty, but we all know what we mean when we say that we love the beautiful. It is through the culture of the imagination that we learn more justly in regard to beauty. Every man should devote himself to this study; the intensely practical man requires it perhaps even more than others, for it preserves him from absolute dryness and mental extinction. Knowledge provides the facts, the raw materials; natural science, physics, and the mathematical sciences all do with facts outside the nature of man. It is very important to know something of these in order to have a generally correct conception of the universe; but a man need not suppose that any knowledge of the universe, outside of himself, is of importance except so far as he can turn it into material for the elevation of his conduct and character. A man may learn all about geology, all about natural history, all about astronomy, and yet remain an ignorant man; but let him use what he learns in these studies for his own discipline, for the development of himself as a member of the great human family, then his knowledge becomes culture.

There is a vast difference between the mere acquisition of facts and the attainment of truth. "Information," as Bishop Butler well says, "is the least part of education." The imagination is the faculty which, beyond all others, helps man to find the truth. It is a stimulus to sympathy; it helps to enlarge the intellectual resources and to develop the finer qualities of a man; it changes us from little, mean creatures to inhabitants of the universe, and sharers in its concerns.

There is a picture known as "The Young Man with the Glove" which finely illustrates the sphere of the imagination. It represents an actual, living, human being, with passions and emotions which Titian first discovered, but which it is in the power of all of us to realize. It is a picture full of life and human nature. In it is the concentration and expression of all that life had meant to the young man ; it is, as it were, the whole life of the youth at a glance. It occupies in the world of painting a place similar to "Hamlet" in literature.

The "Venus de Milo" is an excellent representative of the spirit of the race which could produce it. The spirit from which such a work springs testifies to an exquisiteness of thought and feeling, of which no other nation can boast. Take in contrast the two clumsy figures of "L'Angelus." The whole power of this picture depends upon its skill of execution. It is a picture which no man of very sensitive disposition would desire to have before him continually. It exhibits the incapacity of our times to appreciate the truly beautiful in art. The whole power of the picture is in the representation of the simple reverence of the peasants.

It is because the fine arts relate to the superiorities of man that they are of such importance to every intelligent being. They show man at his best ; they give us at once a large sense of the capabilities of the human race, and a very humble sense of our own power as individuals. No one has a right to take advantage of all he has gained from his predecessors, without giving some repayment by helping on the race. A selfish man is a thief, and only the man who makes the best use of his faculties for the benefit of others has the right to exist. If the imagination could be aroused to give us a realization of what life is, each man would feel a stimulus to act more in accord with the ideal conception of himself.

We have come to recognize in the fine arts the effort to attain beauty in expression. The conception of beauty varies

with the culture, the intelligence, and the general qualities of each man's mind. There have been a thousand attempts at a definition of beauty, not one of which succeeds in giving a definition that will apply perfectly to all those cases which the words "beauty" and "beautiful" suggest. Mr. Emerson, in his essay on "Beauty," says that he is warned by the fate of others not to attempt any definition of beauty. He seems to exhibit the New England incapacity of getting at the heart of beauty; the qualities which he names are not essential to it. Perhaps the nearest we can come to a broad definition of beauty is this: that beauty is always the suggestion and the nearest expression attainable of the best in anything. Beauty is always a suggestion or type of the best; it includes the conception of the most perfect health, the most perfect adaptation of means to end. In every organism each increase towards its fitness for work is an increase in its potential beauty.

In order to learn what is beautiful we need to have our taste refined, that is, by taste we mean the judgment which we instinctively form on our perceptions. There are certain characteristics of beauty which may easily be noted. Beauty is a relative term, depending for interpretation upon the culture of the individual. Probably a great deal that we estimate as beautiful is what has been traditionally accepted as such. We inherit the tendencies to like the same things that our ancestors liked. Suppose we conceive a complete man, with all his functions fully awake. Let us ask what he would consider beautiful. The perfect adaptation to function, the sense of the fulness and completeness of life in a human being, would convey to such a man the idea of perfect beauty. Whatever is beautiful in this view is the expression of what is best, — the nearest approach to the ideal in humanity. In human life all beauty of organism, all beauty of the physical life, is so connected with the spirit of man that it is impossible to disassociate the idea of physical from moral beauty. For example, we all aim at health, but to attain health one

must exercise certain moral qualities. No health can be attained and preserved without much self-continnence and temperance. A man who is intemperate cannot control his hand or his eye to express the beauty of which he may ideally conceive. The conception of beauty in the human being is then a complex conception involving physical and moral elements. The moral beauty of the soul is expressed in the physical character of the man, not always accurately and precisely, however, for we learn to conceal our faults. But in some way the physical man is the expression of the spiritual man. Every one carries his own soul written in his face. However, the face is never a perfect index of the soul. Suppose each generation struggled to make itself perfect; then that struggle is recorded in the face, and the face becomes more and more the mirror of the soul. We are coming to feel the essential oneness of body and soul. So close is the relation that to the Greeks the one word *εἶδος* expressed both beautiful body and beautiful soul. Ruskin says: "No body can be perfect without a perfect soul. No moral distinction is more dangerous than that which distinguishes body and soul."

We stop far short of reaching any satisfactory definition of the term "beauty." Prof. Norton defines beauty in this way: "Beauty is to every man that which gives satisfaction to his highest capacity for enjoyment." If this definition is accepted, beauty should be our chief end in life, for the pursuit of the highest object of enjoyment is the whole of life. Each of us, however he may disguise the fact, really, in his daily life, aims at happiness. Happiness, such as he can attain, is the end of every man's living, and beauty is the source of the highest happiness. By aiming at true happiness, we aim at perfection of character. The existence of an ideal nobility of character, and the aim after such nobility, go to make human life happy. Nothing is more needful for a young man at the beginning of life than to recognize that happiness and nobility of character are coincident, that it is

through the discipline of the senses for the sake of the higher enjoyment of his surroundings that beauty of character is attained.

We have come to the conclusion that the fine arts are the arts which express all that is highest in thought and emotion. It is beauty that gives them the right to the title of fine arts, since in a large sense they mean the effort to reproduce beauty. "Every artist," says Aristotle, "is occupied with creation." Cicero speaks of the arts as possessing the power of creating. There are no arts of imitation; but as far as is possible with human ability, the arts are all creative. Now these creative qualities depend on the imagination to form an ideal; and this effort to attain the ideal is constant in the higher works of the fine arts. There is a very striking saying of William Blake, the painter: "You ask me what I see in the sunrise. I do not see a red disk of fire, like a golden ball. No, but I see an opening of the heavens, and I hear the angels singing, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty.'" There we see the imagination at work, looking through the eye. There is a famous saying of Bacon's, "Poetry" — or we might say, with equal correctness, the fine arts — "accommodates the shows of things to the desires of the mind." And "Poetry," as Matthew Arnold has said, "is the most perfect speech of man, for in it the imagination seeks, under the shows of nature, the truth that lies behind it."

Now, it is the function of the fine arts, as arts of expression governed by the imagination, to give real form to the highest aims and motives of man; and here comes in a very much disputed matter, — how far the artist has to consider the subject of his art, whether there is any morality in art. Undoubtedly the artist's aim is achieved if he succeeds in producing a beautiful work; but is it possible to separate goodness from beauty? Certainly not, if beauty is the ultimate expression of the good. But the beautiful in form may contain something low; though the subject be vile, the form

given to it may be beautiful, and this beauty still represents a moral excellence somewhere. No higher work of art is devoid of goodness as well as of beauty. According to the expression of a man's ideal in the fine arts is the test in regard to his character and soul. We become acquainted with his work in life, and learn to estimate the best works of art as the productions of the best men. And here comes in the chief motive for the study of the fine arts; in themselves, as arts of expression, they have a reflex action on those who practise them. The man who controls the outbursts of his selfish, wilful nature, and expresses himself with a free but restrained manner, will find that self-control gradually becomes more and more natural.

Now, one of the chief motives for the study of the fine arts is not only that we may have a fuller acquaintance with the past, not only that we may learn about the struggle of the race from its barbaric condition up to the partial civilization which the best men have attained, but also because the fine arts educate the feelings and qualities which find very little culture outside. The record of literature in the past has been very imperfect. It is difficult for a man to prevent his judgment of the deeds of others from being colored by prejudice. We cannot take any written history, and believe that the events occurred in the sequence and with the motives which the historian suggests. But with the fine arts this is not the case; they supply the defects in the literary record, and their testimony is more to be trusted than that of any written history, because it is in a large measure unconscious testimony. Phidias, when he carved the figure of Zeus, was carving an ideal which enables us to infer correctly much in regard to the actual human nature as it existed among the Greeks. Titian depicted the qualities which he discerned in the individual, and thus gave a testimony to the world in regard to the whole Venetian race. We learn more from the arts of Venice than from all the historians which from time to time she appointed to write a history of her actions. We learn

from the Parthenon the fine sense of the Greeks for proportion and ideal beauty. What we learn in regard to the refinement of the senses we learn about the refinement of the soul, which looks through the senses. The fine arts are thus the most unimpeachable evidence of the mental and moral condition of a race at the time of their production. They are also aids in civilization ; like other arts of expression, they help to strengthen the qualities from which they proceed. Their place in education is then a very high one, and they are especially needed in America, where we have no arts which can be called fine arts. Of course, we have pictures and buildings, such as they are ; but we have nothing as yet which expresses the national life. They are like the verses in our magazines, not yet expressing thought and sentiment of such depth and import as to have importance in civilization and culture. Thus the fine arts do something to cultivate the quality which is the most important for culture, the faculty of the imagination.

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CHAPTER II.

EGYPT.

THE first historic civilization is that of Egypt. We cannot tell, however, whether any nation reached the point of expression before the Egyptians, owing to our ignorance of the works of man in the centuries before history began. We can form but little idea of the degree of civilization attained by man more than six or seven thousand years ago; and this time, long as it may seem to us, beings of such brief occupancy of the world, is but a moment in the long history of the struggle of the race from barbarism to civilization.

In the ages before history began, while man was coming into conscious existence, the growth of the sense of perpetuity of possession was very slow. Man at first seems to have been a dull creature. When we think how long it must have been before he learned to control even the simplest phenomena of nature, before he knew even how to keep fire alive, we can see how few were his comforts, and without fire how precarious his subsistence; but this very pressure of want and famine stimulated his inventive genius. We find in the earliest records that man was a very timid creature, with no means of defence against the violence of nature. The struggle for existence was very fierce, even among men. Nature continually terrified man by her storms, her cold and heat, her earthquakes, her thunder and lightning. Profiting by his mistakes and failures, man slowly overcame his fear, gradually was able to control the violence of Nature, and even to turn some of her powers against herself; he cultivates the soil, waters it, and makes it more fertile, and at last feels himself a partial master of Nature. But she shakes the earth and

overthrows his defences ; she sets fire to the forests and consumes his dwellings. Everywhere Nature lies in wait for her victim, — man.

At first, man had no means of communicating with his fellows. Language is man's most splendid accomplishment. For a long time the record of his deeds was handed down to following generations by word of mouth only. By degrees man chose for himself rules of conduct ; the moral nature grew slowly and feebly, the intellectual keeping pace with it. I take it that an advance in morality is an advance from selfishness to unselfishness, and that the more unselfish one becomes, the greater is the sense of sympathy and social need. Man found that virtue brings happiness, but he does not practise it for happiness alone. Late in the life of the race a certain intellectual curiosity is awakened, and man inquires the reason of things. The development of curiosity means intellectual progress, and with it the increase of the powers of expression. Language was used for the simpler relations of life long before it was able to express continuous thought. Before we know anything about the history of the Egyptians, we find, through other arts, that they had attained a considerable power of expression in language, and had gained some skill in the lower arts of life, as in agriculture ; so on entering the historic period we find a condition which indicates a long period of partial civilization.

Why was the Egyptian race the first to reach such a degree of civilization that they could hand down a record, which, though incomplete, is being filled out by modern discoveries ? It seems very plain that the early progress of Egypt was dependent mainly upon the geographical character of the land. Egypt is nothing but a little strip of fertile soil stretching across the desert, — an elongated oasis on the border of a great river. It is so situated that the climate is, on the whole, favorable to human life ; its seasons are very regular, with a moderate change of temperature. Though in some months the heat is great, the atmosphere of Egypt is

so dry that the heat has not the depressing effect felt in many regions of the same latitude. Nothing decays in Egypt, the air is so dry; wood and other materials, that elsewhere decay rapidly, last here for thousands of years. The climate is determined also by the fact that the Mediterranean Sea is on the north and great deserts on the south, and that there are very high mountains which rise in Africa, to the south of Egypt, but north of the torrid zone. The prevailing wind is north, from the sea, blowing for a great part of the year southward across Egypt, striking the mountains, and on the higher peaks condensing into snow, which, in warm weather, melts and fills the great reservoirs to overflowing. This water pours into the Nile, causing it to overflow its banks, toward the end of summer, and to flood this little strip of land, depositing on its underlying sands all the vegetable matter brought down from the sides of the mountains. Each year this overflow renews the fertility of the land, and gives it the materials needed for the production of abundant crops. Here, then, we have a most remarkable combination of circumstances favorable to the life of man, — a quality of climate that preserves his works for following generations, — conditions which make crops not only easy but abundant, and give men the assurance that they will have the means of living without exhaustive labor. This freedom from attention to purely physical wants gave to the Egyptians leisure for the cultivation of other arts than those required for self-preservation. There was another important characteristic: Egypt was cut off from the rest of the world. This little strip, which Herodotus calls "the gift of the river," is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean, on the east by a strip of desert and the Red Sea, on the south by lakes and mountains and by a region in which nature is so exuberant as to make life difficult for man, and on the west by the great Libyan Desert. So we see that Egypt was sheltered from the rest of the world. This fact was of very great importance, for it saved the people from frequent invasions. Such condi-

tions were extremely rare and of the greatest importance, for they gave men the opportunity to develop naturally, and to advance from generation to generation by preserving the accumulations of the past.

From the Mediterranean to Syene, at the cataracts of the Nile, Egypt is about five hundred and thirty miles long ; but the Nile winds so much that the course of the river is about seven hundred miles, which may be called the total length of Egypt. The average breadth of the strip between the deserts is about five and one half miles. The delta of the Nile, containing fifty-six branches, gives a wide cultivated tract of about forty-five hundred square miles. The whole area of Egypt, capable of cultivation, is about seventy-five hundred square miles, — somewhat less than that of Massachusetts. This area has been extended, by improvements of the English, to about seventy-eight hundred square miles.

The old Egyptian kings made frequent attempts at distributing the water of the Nile more equally, but without success. Under the beneficent rule of England, engineers have made such improvements that much of Egypt, once unproductive, is now fertile. The English have shown in their great works of irrigation in Egypt, and in their numerous improvements in India, a certain imperial greatness which reminds one of Rome.

The Egyptians always considered themselves the original occupants of the land ; but recent investigations indicate that the historic Egyptians were a race that had migrated into Egypt, and were a people that belonged to the great Asiatic family of the Semitic branch of the human race. Many of the root-words, the syntax of the pronouns, the numerals, some features of the conjugation of the verbs, indicate a close relation of the Egyptian idiom to that of the other Semitic languages. This, therefore, leads to the inference that the Egyptians had, in a prehistoric period, migrated from Asia to Egypt. There it is not unlikely that they found African settlers, negroes, over whom they had the advantage of the

white race over the black, and so gained possession of the land; and this may have happened so far in the past that they had lost all knowledge of their migration. The Egyptians knew but little of their previous history. Later a great body of literature was written, but in a form very hard to learn, and so the art of reading it was confined to a very few.

So far as we know, the Egyptians were the first to secure a written language. This at first was largely a pictorial representation of the objects which they desired to bring before the mind. From this was developed the system of Hieroglyphs, or sacred writings, which prepared the way for a more rapid and easy written language, retaining, however, such characteristics as made it difficult. Moreover, most of the documents were not written in a way that made them transferable. To be sure, the Egyptians learned to write on a paper made from the leaves of the papyrus plant, on linen and other materials, so that there was a considerable mass of literature; but much of the manners and customs of the Egyptians was upon stone, either carved on the great monuments or painted on the walls, and could be read only by those who frequented the temples, palaces, or tombs on which they were inscribed. Although the Egyptians were celebrated in early times for their wisdom, yet this wisdom was of a very limited experience; so we do not find in their works the expression of any of the deeper sentiments of the mind. Not until the Egyptians had reached a comparatively high civilization were their thoughts of any value. Having no accurate knowledge of the past, they filled it with vague fancies, and we find statements in Egyptian writers that are impossible.

Egypt, being separated by its geographical position from the other races of the world, remained till a comparatively recent period very little known by the other ancient nations. For example, the Bible furnishes us a very limited account of Egypt; and yet the books of the Old Testament were the chief source of knowledge with respect to the early

condition of Egypt even up to the end of the last century. The Egyptians were known as a conquering people as early as 2500 B. C. Very late in Egyptian history the Greeks began to make some acquisitions; but not till the eighth century B. C. did the jealous Egyptians allow a Greek settlement on the delta. This settlement grew, and the knowledge they acquired of Egypt was transmitted to travellers and traders who carried it back to Greece.

The Greeks had traditions of having derived knowledge from the Egyptians, but very little is known till the time of Herodotus, about 450 B. C. His account of Egypt is very clear and valuable, and in the main correct. He was a traveller of good sense and keen perception, and meant to state the truth as far as he could make it out. It was the best account of Egypt till the Imperial period of Rome; but after Diodorus Siculus, who fills out the account of Herodotus, and Strabo, who also wrote on the subject, little was written of Egypt for centuries, although in the Middle Ages it was frequently visited. By reading Rollin's "History," we see that even one hundred years ago very little was known. Egypt was in reality discovered in this century, and we are now able to give a more exact history of Egypt than the Egyptians themselves could have done. It is an interesting discovery, because by it we can trace the beginnings of some of the greatest advances in civilization. This immense advance in knowledge and this very interesting progress in discovery was due mainly to one of the most splendid feats of scholarship ever performed, namely, the discovery of the meaning of the hieroglyphs. The elements of this discovery were long doubted by many scholars, and were not generally accepted till about 1830.

This discovery came about in a very curious way. In the last years of the eighteenth century the French, under Napoleon, made an expedition into Egypt. A great body of men from the Academy of Science made valuable and important studies, but the result was insignificant compared with

that attained by the accidental discovery of a lieutenant of the army. While throwing up some earthworks he found a stone, on which was inscribed a triplet in the written or cursive hand. This stone was broken, so that part of the writing was gone ; but there were on the stone three inscriptions, which seemed to indicate that the hieroglyph, the running hand, and the Greek were three versions of the same thing. This was shipped for France in 1798, but the vessel which contained it was captured by the English, and the stone was sent to the British Museum. This was known as the Rosetta Stone, and casts taken of it were sent all over Europe to be studied.

The difficulty in the study of the hieroglyphs was very great, although the Greek words were supposed to be a translation of the Egyptian. The first hint in deciphering came from the fact that it was an inscription of a priest in honor of one of the Ptolemies, who reigned some centuries B. C., and the names of Ptolemy and of his queen are frequently repeated. Now, where these names occurred in the Greek, there was in the corresponding Egyptian a group of signs surrounded by an oval figure, with a flat base, called a Cartouch. These signs gave the clew. For example, it was taken for granted that the group of signs corresponding to Ptolemy in the Greek stood for similar sounds in the Egyptian language. These signs also occurred elsewhere in the inscription. If the first of these represented the letters P and T, one could guess that where the same sign was found, the same letters were meant ; still they were not very confident as to the correctness of their assumption. Dr. Young, of England, worked on this problem with great zeal and energy, and about 1818 published a treatise, showing that he had been able to decipher positively five of the hieroglyphs, and probably many more. At the same time a still more brilliant genius, one of those men that succeed by application, industry, and energy, of which lesser men cannot conceive, Champollion, a young Frenchman, was working on

the same thing,—the Rosetta Stone. He and Dr. Young obtained possession of another, but less important, triplet; and in 1821, Champollion published his discovery, having succeeded in deciphering about twenty characters. There was great disbelief in the discovery; so many futile attempts had been made before, that men were sceptical. A Swedish scholar assisted in the work, and from 1818 to 1830 the hieroglyphs were made out one after another. By happy guesses and correct inferences, progress was made, till now two scholars in different places with the same inscription will give the same interpretation. Perfection is not yet reached; but when a new inscription is discovered, it is read with comparative ease, with, of course, minor points of dispute. This superb discovery has given us an acquaintance with Egypt that no written account by other nations could have furnished.

The inscription on the Rosetta Stone was in honor of Ptolemy Epiphenes, and was written by the priests assembled at Memphis, about 199 B. C. The earliest hieroglyphic inscription is in the museum at Oxford; it was inscribed over the door of the tomb of a priest who lived in the reign of the fifth king of the second dynasty, about 4500 B. C. It is extraordinary that the Egyptian civilization in this respect should have so far preceded the development of civilization in other lands; the only other to be compared to it in date is that of Chaldæa, Babylonia, and Assyria. Here we have writings of the Egyptians 4500 B. C., and we can place with certainty none of the Greek writers earlier than 700 B. C. There has been a disposition in England to make the chronology as revealed by the monuments and hieroglyphs correspond with the chronology of the Bible. The English have been very slow to admit the possibility of error in the biblical records, but the discoveries in Egypt have compelled the most careful scholars to admit that the chronology of the early history of man must be revised. No European scholar now disputes the fact that we are able to go back five thou-

sand years B. C., but we find the English trying to bring the date down to two thousand or three thousand years B. C.

The French expedition to Egypt under Napoleon collected a vast amount of material, and the results of their investigations were published in 1802 by Denon, the head of the scientific explorers. But the great book which the expedition published, from 1809 to 1828, in numerous folio volumes, was the first which, on a large scale, gave to Western scholars a knowledge of the monuments of Egypt. After that came a very important joint expedition of the Italians and the French, with the noted Champollion at the head of the French, and Rosellini, of Florence, at the head of the Italians. Champollion returned in 1830, and died in 1832. Their results were published in French and in Italian, from 1832 to 1845. In 1842, the Prussian government, under the great scholar, Lepsius, carried on the work. The expedition remained in Egypt three years, and from 1849 to 1859 published twelve enormous volumes, containing a description of the monuments, with their plan and design,—altogether the most important collection of facts which had been printed up to that time.

The first scholar who acquired a thorough knowledge of what had already been discovered, and visited Egypt with the desire to apply his knowledge, was a Frenchman, Mariette, sent in 1850 by the French government. His work, carried on for almost twenty years, was of very great importance. There was a certain revival of intellectual life in Egypt during this time, one of the evidences of which was the establishment of a museum near Cairo, of which Mariette was the head. At this place is the most important portable collection of Egyptian antiquities, the next in importance being at the British Museum. There are smaller collections in the Louvre, and at Berlin, Florence, New York, and Boston.

In the second book of his history, Herodotus writes in regard to the Egyptians: "They interested themselves far

more than any other people in the world for the perfecting of the monuments of their past actions, and are the best skilled in history of the peoples that I ever met." There is a great deal of truth in that, and such histories as they have put together are found in the main to be correct. The most important book, that of Manetho, is very late in Egyptian history, in the fourth century B. C. This book is a list of Egyptian kings; and though there are many questions of doubt in regard to it, on the whole it is pretty correct. The great question that his list brings up is whether it does not include some contemporaneous dynasties.

One reason for the perfection of the records of the Egyptians was the seclusion of the nation, the permanence of its institutions, and the stability of its social order. In the enormous period of Egyptian history, however, there were various changes; the power moved north and south, there were different ruling cities, and also invaders of Egypt. There is one period comparatively dark, illustrated by very few monuments and records; it is called the period of the Hyksos invasion. The inhabitants of the land were conquered, and new rulers were established.

Another reason why the record is so complete is the fact that the intellectual life of the Egyptians was narrow. There was no collision of thought with foreign races, and consequently no steady progress in intelligence. Political institutions were established early, and the political and the religious were closely intermingled. The rulers were thought to have divine authority; in fact, the political system of Egypt was a despotism founded on religious faith, — a despotism of the most relentless kind. Although the religious conceptions were peculiar and interesting, the result of this despotism was that individuality of thought, as well as of action, was suppressed, and the moral life was inclosed in very narrow limits. The records indicate what we may call mental dulness. As elsewhere, the morality of the Egyptians was very closely connected with their religion. On the whole, the Egyptians seem

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to have reached a tolerably high moral life, for no nation could have lasted so long without resting on sound religious principles, although their religion was confined mainly to the maintenance of social order. The Egyptians were an honest, worthy, truth-telling, somewhat stolid race, believing in the rewards of virtue and the punishment of sin in a future life. The Egyptian temperament was tranquil, patient, tenacious, holding to the old-established ways. There are no records of any great crimes, not a single trace in all Egyptian literature of any deep passion, thus exhibiting what is called the repose of the East. The Egyptians were cruel, like all half-developed men; their sympathies were languid, and they placed a very low estimate on the value of human life. There seems to have been no general ambition among them, except for comfort in life. Their civilization was not progressive; when they found the forms of expression best suited to their early generations, they held to them. The result is a certain monotony through the whole history of Egypt; the political changes, the wars even, are monotonous from dynasty to dynasty; there is a steadfastness of the moral and the intellectual type all through the records. Although the ideas, emotions, and feelings the Egyptians had to express were comparatively few, and what they had to transmit was but a small treasure, yet we may look back to them with deep regard, almost with reverence. Their civilization covers more than one half of the whole historic period of time; they gave expression to their thoughts four thousand years before the Greeks, and before Rome was founded; they opened the way along which civilization was to advance. They made the most important of all discoveries, the art of transferring language from sound to sight. In Egypt man first became conscious of his abilities and aspirations, and exhibited them in almost every field of expression.

One of the remarks which Herodotus makes in regard to the Egyptians is that they are religious to excess; and Lenormant, in his "History of the East in Ancient Times," says that everything in Egypt bears the impress of religion. Of

course, among all races of men, as they come to a period when they apply their thoughts to subjects other than those which relate to their means of living, the first thought is in regard to their relations to the universe, and only the earliest and rudest races of men are found without some definite doctrine in respect to this world and the destiny of man after this life. Man finds himself surrounded by conditions which he cannot explain. How came man here? What is life? What mean the hopes, the aspirations and unfulfilled desires of man? Is man, as he himself thinks, of infinite importance to himself and to the world? Naturally enough, before he learns of the earth's relations to the other planets, he feels that it is the centre of the universe. It is a very late addition to man's knowledge, that the earth is such an infinitesimal part of the whole, — little more than a grain of sand on the sea-shore. All the early conceptions of man, even to the fifteenth century, were founded on the theory that the earth was the centre of the universe; that God had made man the chief end of creation; that for his sake God had delivered to him all the stars, the sun, and the moon, to serve him; and that according to their relations to the earth, was the fortune or the ill-fortune of his birth.

The question as to the nature of the invisible world was one of the first to come before man. The early notion was, that the world was under the control partly of good and partly of bad; that the gods were not always kind to men, but had to be propitiated. The first notions of a god seem to have been taken from nature; man associated power with the sun and moon. It is not yet clear whether the early conceptions held by man were of one God of infinite power, or of a multiplicity of gods. His conceptions seem to have been in the direction of polytheism; but as man rises in civilization, his ideas of God assume a more rational character. In the races which have reached the height of civilization, the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, and the civilized nations of our time, we find what may be called an esoteric doctrine, — a doc-

trine held by the more enlightened portion of the people ; while the multitude, with their incapacity for abstract thought, ascribed to all sorts of natural objects, especially to animals, a certain divine quality. The great god of the Egyptians seems to have been a divinity whose manifestation was to be found in the sun, which was worshipped partly as a symbol, and also as a divinity in itself. Naturally, in such a nation, the doctrine in regard to the relation of man to the universe takes on a very realistic character, with little that is spiritual ; and this fact is strikingly illustrated by the conception of the Egyptians in regard to immortality. They connected life with a definite form or body, and had no conception of a spiritual existence.

Now, the doctrine of immortality, in some form or other, appears very early in the history of the race. How could a man, who thought that the earth is the centre of the universe, believe that this earth, with its changes and its calamities, with all the uncertainty attending every individual, with the constant contradiction between the desire and the fulfilment, with the misery that often befalls the good and the prosperity that attends the bad, — how could he believe that this earth is the end? A man finds himself, like Job, in the midst of prosperity, and is suddenly exposed to calamities. How can he believe that he is exposed to these calamities without some time a chance to set things aright, some time in which his desires, hopes, and aspirations shall be realized in an active experience? There must be some other existence. Man, with his infinite longings, with his sense of the undeveloped capacities within him, the sense that he has not reached the full extent of his powers before they decline, cannot but hope that there will be some other existence when this desire shall have its full expression in the real development of his character and powers. The man who has been a ruler on the earth, who has strength and force, and the pride of life in his heart, how can he feel that life is limited to this earthly existence? He is of too much importance to be tossed pell-mell into the

grave to rot ; he must have another life in which to continue his work. The hero, who dies on the field of battle in defence of his country, can he believe that here is the end ? Can he but hope that his self-sacrifice will meet its reward, not only in the gratitude of his fellow-countrymen, but also in a happy existence hereafter ? The poor man, sick and suffering, who seems treated with injustice, looks forward to a life in which he shall assume a right position toward his fellows. Hence, it is natural that man looks from the conditions of this world to some other where they shall be adjusted.

The Egyptians fancied that for the attainment of the other life the body must be preserved. This is a materialistic doctrine, but we find it in all early religions. It is not yet possible to state definitely the whole doctrine of the Egyptians with regard to the preservation of the body, but the main idea was that the actual body was to be preserved as far as possible ; but if this could not be done, the spirit or nature of man might be preserved indefinitely by images of the body.

The Egyptians had the idea that there was with every active being what was called his Ka, or Double. It is not very plain what their notions were, but it seems that this Ka, or Double, had much in common with the Greek *εἶδολον*, and the Latin *umbra*. It was the form which man took after death, and infinite pains were taken to assure the existence of this Double. For example, after the body had been embalmed, encased, and placed in the tomb with the utmost secrecy, the continued existence of the Ka must be assured by images of the body. They supposed that as long as one of these images remained undestroyed, the Ka retained its hold on life. In the tombs of the rich beautifully carved images were placed in a secret room, and a small passageway was left through which the Ka might find an exit from the inner chamber. The poor were, of course, unable to do this ; but to give their Ka a hold on immortality, little clay images

were made four or five inches in length. These were stamped out by the hundreds and thousands ; and when the body of the poor man was put into the tomb, one or more of these images was placed with it.

But the Ka needed material for support ; and so every year at stated intervals food was brought. If this could not be done, representations of articles of food were carved or painted on the walls of the tomb. These, they supposed, would suffice for the maintenance of the Ka.

Many fancies of this sort were mixed with the religious conceptions of the Egyptians. The importance which the Egyptians gave to the doctrine of the future life was so great that no other notion had an equal influence in shaping their institutions. We see in these notions an indefiniteness and a gross materialism which characterize nations in an undeveloped state, and it is a wonder that the Egyptians reached so high a point of civilization.

One other point in this connection is interesting. We find in the Roman Catholic Church the custom of giving foundations, that is, sums of money for the saying of prayers and masses for the repose of the soul of the deceased, and for its release from purgatory. There was a similar practice among the Egyptians. The rich left money to the priests, and the services and rites they desired were performed year after year, long after their memory had otherwise passed away.

There is a striking passage in Sir Thomas Browne's article on "Mummies" ("Minor Works," Vol. IV., p. 276), in which he calls attention to the Egyptian tombs. He says : "Of their living habitations the Egyptians had little account, while they adorned the sepulchres of the dead." The pyramids are the tombs of the ancient Egyptian kings ; and although we cannot determine definitely who built them, for they belong to the earliest period of Egyptian history, yet to a certain extent they explain themselves.

The history of Egypt is commonly divided into three empires, the Old, the Middle, and the New ; and each empire

is divided into a series of dynasties. The first to the tenth dynasties, inclusive, form the Old Empire, which, according to the chronology of Maspero, lasted from 5004 B. C. to 3064 B. C. At the very beginning of the Old Empire there must have been a condition of society in Egypt tolerably advanced, for monuments like the pyramids could not have been constructed by a people who had not already an elaborate and well-developed system of government. Monument building always comes late in a nation's history. The erection of such monuments means the regular employment of vast numbers of men under strong discipline, for whose support there must have been very skilful arrangements, involving the finest executive ability. There must have been not only a large population on this little strip of fertile land, but a great accumulation of wealth as well.

The pyramids indicate a religious conception founded upon the belief that this life is but a small part of the possibilities of the race, and is, as it were, but the anticipation of a fuller and more perfect life hereafter. These monuments are a proof of the strength and universality of the religion. But the pyramids afford surprising proof of the intellectual development in other directions also.

Such a structure as the Great Pyramid could not have been built without very great scientific attainments, involving not only a knowledge of general scientific principles, but of geometry and astronomy as well. It involved a knowledge of some very difficult problems of the higher mathematics, for it would not have been possible to build the pyramids with the assistance of the simplest machines.

There were reasons in the character of the country itself for the cultivation of art and engineering. The Egyptian fields were not separated by walls or divisions, and each year new measurements had to be made. This necessitated a knowledge of the simpler rules of geometry and trigonometry, and, in order to divide the land, a little knowledge of engineering. To foresee the changes in the Nile and to

study the aspects of nature, some knowledge of astronomy also was needed.

Mr. Flinders Petrie says, in the opening chapter to "The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh": "The small piece of desert plateau opposite the village of Gizeh, though less than a mile across, may well claim to be the most remarkable piece of ground in the world. There may be seen the very beginning of architecture, the most enormous pile of buildings ever raised, the most accurate construction known, the finest masonry and the employment of the most ingenious tools; whilst among all the sculptures that are known, the largest figure — the Sphinx — and also the finest example of technical skill with artistic expression — the statue of Khafra — both belong to Gizeh. We shall look in vain for a more wonderful assemblage than the vast masses of the pyramids, the ruddy walls and pillars of granite temples, the titanic head of the Sphinx, the hundreds of tombs, and the shattered outlines of causeways, pavements, and walls that cover this earliest field of man's labors."

But while this is true, there are certain other inferences to be drawn from the pyramids, which help us to a more exact understanding of the condition of the Egyptians. There is, in their work, an absence of qualities which indicate the existence of that finer artistic and æsthetic conception depending upon fineness of perception and upon the general delicacy of the intellectual qualities of the race by which the works were erected. Massiveness, solidity, firmness, and secrecy in their buildings did not call for the expression of the mind, the emotions, and the sentiments of man, nor stimulate a wide range of thought. The simplicity of form and design of the most noticeable Egyptian works is very marked. There is no evidence of a sense of ideal beauty or changing variety, for the forms are all geometrical. In all their buildings, except the pyramids, there is a lack of that proportion in the different parts which can be stated in numbers. The finest proportions ever obtained in architecture, namely, those

of the Greek buildings, are all dependent upon numerical relations, an exact proportion of length to breadth, and of breadth to height; and it is the refinement of this numerical proportion that gives to buildings their greatest charm. In the Egyptian buildings, except the pyramids, the scale is irregular. Constructions are joined one to another without numerical relation. Buildings are grouped, not with regard to their relative proportions, but according to their use. The desire for durability, not æsthetic quality, is expressed in the works of the Egyptians as in those of no other nation.

The walls of Egyptian buildings are of enormous extent in proportion to the openings, and the blocks used are of incredible size. The Egyptians had not learned economy of construction. But the quality of the masonry in the works of the very earliest time is so excellent as to justify what Mr. Petrie says; it is 'the finest stone masonry known in its exactness; as far as the mere building of the wall is concerned, it has never been surpassed. The machinery and the tools were apparently perfect. The mortar used was as good as the Roman cement. The architectural conceptions, on the other hand, are exceedingly limited; there is no proper style of architecture. The architecture of the Old Empire at Memphis is distinctly superior to that of the Middle Empire at Thebes, and in general we find that the earlier the work the better it is. So far as we know, there is no constructed monument that belongs to the very earliest dynasty, although there are works of other kinds which, according to Maspero, belong to this first period.

The first king of Egypt was Menes, — the Egyptian form was apparently Mna. This name probably signified to the Egyptians, The Founder; and Memphis means the well-founded city, or something of that kind. The hieroglyphs inform us that the city of Memphis was consecrated to the deity Thtah, with the name Ha-ta-thtah; this was the name which shaped itself to the Greeks as Egyptos, or Egypt.

One of the works of this early king was a dike, whose

object was to hold back the waters of the Nile and to direct them into new regions. Wilkinson says that there is no trace of this dike now to be seen ; but Maspero says that the dike still exists, under the name of Kosheish. Immediately after the first dynasty we come to some imperfect monuments in which we find strong evidence that they had been preceded by monuments of wood. The very earliest of these works are in a region along the western bank of the Nile. This was the old cemetery of Memphis, and here stand eleven pyramids, exhibiting a gradual development in construction. The oldest of all is ascribed to the fourth king of the first dynasty. This is supposed to have been built in six stages. The total height is about two hundred feet, and the original base, from north to south, was three hundred and fifty feet ; from east to west, three hundred and ninety-four feet ; so we see how irregular was its shape.

In order to understand the construction of the Great Pyramid, we must go back to still earlier constructions, the tombs, of which a great number remain of very early date in the great cemetery of Memphis. They are usually constructed in the limestone, and most of the builded tombs are of one style, the Mastaba. The Mastaba is a quadrangular building, not pyramidal in form, but with two sides longer than the other two. Some reach to a length of one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet, by sixty to eighty feet wide, and twenty to forty feet high. All are built with sloping sides of stone or brick, symmetrically arched. The doors usually face the north or south, never the west, and very seldom the east. In the normal plan of the Mastaba there are two doors, one the entrance for the dead, high and narrow, near the northeast corner ; the other, the door for the living, is larger and on the front, made of a size proportionate to the size of the tomb and chamber within. This chamber was usually arranged so as to afford a convenient meeting-place for the persons who, from time to time, went to do honor to the dead. In the mass of the building was another chamber,

used as a chapel, and devoted to religious services alone. There was also the Serbad, or secret chamber, supposed to be the special abode of the Ka, or Double.

The notion of the Ka was a somewhat complicated one. The Ka was a duplicate of the bodily form, and associated with it was the soul or spirit of the person whose tomb was supposed to be its earthly abode. A third ethereal portion of the existence was what was called the spark from the divine fire. The Ka seems to have included the soul and the spark. The tomb, which was the earthly dwelling-place of the dead, included the private room of the Ka. It was closed on the day of burial, and no living person was allowed to enter it thereafter. The tomb was to preserve the soul and the body; and the representations of the body were to serve for the maintenance of the Ka after a possible destruction of the body itself. Generally there was a very small opening left between the Serbad and the outer room, that the Ka might pass out for food or for other purposes. After the friends of the dead had left the tomb, they gave full possession of it to the Ka. At first it was conceived that the spirit must be supported after death by actual food, but by degrees this notion fell off as being too materialistic. Still the conception survived in the idea that the Ka might become so impoverished as to need to seek actual food in the most ignoble way. Then came the idea of supplying his wants by permanent representations of food and drink, in drawings or carvings on the walls of the tomb. In these representations the Ka was supposed to see himself eating, drinking, and engaging in the pursuits of life, tilling the field, sowing the grain, or watching the herds. All these various figures, painted or carved on the walls of the tombs, were supposed to give the Ka an eternal existence. These conceptions give us a knowledge of the early modes of life among the Egyptians, such as can be gained from no other records.

The Mastaba probably furnished the idea of the pyramid. We are apt to consider the pyramids as independent build-

ings, but, properly speaking, they were tombs only, and outside and connected with them were the temples where religious services were held ; and the pyramid is very incomplete without its temple.

The pyramids, for the most part, are royal tombs, but some seem to have been the resting-place of other persons of very high rank, chief men in the court of the king. The pyramid proper, spoken of in its narrowest sense, contains only the passages of the burial vault. The construction of the pyramids along the banks of the Nile went on chiefly from 5000 to 4000 B. C., the latest being built about 3000 B. C. The work on the pyramids seems to have been done under government instructions and orders. The mass of a pyramid is composed of limestone, which was abundant in the mountains near at hand ; but for some portions of the more important pyramids granite was used, as in the construction of the chambers and passages : this was brought from quarries in Southern Egypt. There were very elaborate arrangements for the supply of stone, and it was heaped up by successive dynasties, to be used as occasion required.

It is very difficult for us to conceive of the great mass of the pyramids. For instance, the Great Pyramid covers an area of from thirteen to fourteen acres, and reaches a height of four hundred and eighty feet. The height is probably not, as was once supposed, commensurate with the length of any reign ; for the smallest is the tomb of a king who reigned thirty years, and the largest that of Kufu, who reigned twenty-four years. The pyramids, like the Mastabas, have faces toward the four cardinal points ; but there is generally a slight indifference to this.

The Great Pyramid stands on a rocky plateau of loosely compacted limestone which rises about one hundred feet above the plain. This is the last great mass of rock on the side of Egypt next the Mediterranean. On this plateau rise a number of pyramids, of which the three which form the famous group are the largest. It is curious enough that there

is no Egyptian account of the Great Pyramid so far as known. Herodotus, however, speaks of it in his second book ; while other accounts may be found in Diodorus Siculus and in Pliny's "History."

The Great Pyramid is by far the largest monument of man's construction. The measurements given by Mr. Petrie are as follows : the length of each side was a little short of seven hundred and sixty-five feet ; the present length, owing to the destruction of the outer casing, is about twenty-five feet less. The original perpendicular height was about four hundred and eighty-one feet, diminished some thirty feet now, while the inclined height was about six hundred and eleven feet. Vyse estimates the quantity of masonry at over 89,000,000 cubic feet, and the weight as 6,850,000 tons. It was built for the third king of the fourth dynasty, somewhere about 4000 B. C. The very skilful methods of organizing labor, which must have been employed by the Egyptians, indicate very high political institutions ; they indicate a very large population, an immense number of workmen, and, as we see, a very high development of the mechanical arts.

When a pyramid was to be constructed, the first thing to build was a causeway along which the blocks of stone were brought. The precise method of construction is, as yet, not absolutely determined. The surface of the rock on which the pyramid was to be built was first levelled, with the exception of a rectangular nucleus of limestone left raised about twenty-two feet ; on this level surface successive layers of stone were placed. Although the stones vary in thickness, the masonry seems to have ascended with great regularity.

The Great Pyramid exhibits certain passages which are very extraordinary in their construction. They are built with a precision which it is impossible to surpass. There are no joints in any of the masonry ; the stones are laid together, very closely. But the most curious fact about them is that although the chambers must have been built from below upward, and could not have been hollowed out after the pyramid

was completed, yet the stones are absolutely true in line. The whole design of the internal construction must, therefore, have been laid out from the beginning, though it is difficult to understand the method adopted.

In the Great Pyramid there is a passage leading downward to a very irregular chamber below the level of the ground. Beyond this chamber extends a horizontal passage stopped in the rock. From the descending passage there proceeds another, leading upward. This divides, and one part runs off in a nearly horizontal direction to the queen's chamber; the other, continuing the ascent, ends in a very curious construction called the king's chamber. To prevent its being crushed by the immense weight of stone above, this chamber is roofed with limestone; then above the limestone are blocks of granite, smooth on the bottom and rough on the top; and over all are two blocks of granite of immense size, placed in the form of an inverted V, to throw off the impending weight, — an ingenious and sufficient mode of construction.

In addition to the passages mentioned, there are also two others leading upward on either side of the king's chamber, called air passages; that they are open has been ascertained by lighting a fire in the chamber, when the smoke was seen to pass out through the opening. Whether the air passages represent the means by which the soul had communication with the outside world is not known. When the pyramid had been completed and the body of the king deposited in the sarcophagus, which still exists, the workmen retired through this passage, and stopped up the end with blocks of granite so wedged that it has been impossible to remove them. It seems probable that, as the wedges of granite are so placed that they could not have been put in position from the outside, the workmen must have gone up and down through the irregular passage leading downward from near the junction of the ascending passage and the passage to the queen's chamber. For a clear notion of these passages, one should consult the diagram in Reber's "Ancient Art," page 6.

When the Great Pyramid with its casing was actually completed and the door of entrance closed, it seemed solid, with no appearance of an outlet. It may subsequently have been broken into, however, for when opened by the Arabs the sarcophagus was found to be empty.

The delicacy of masonry in the pyramid is confined to the passages and other appropriate places, while the great mass is rough; that is, there was a judicious economy in the construction. The blocks above the king's chamber are of coarse material, and the spaces between them are quite large; yet they are so placed that the strength of the whole is preserved.

There is one other noticeable point in the construction: the corner lines were built of a harder limestone than the rest, for they are not only the essential lines of the building, but are the most exposed to the weather. These have weathered less than the flanks; so if one stands at one corner a curve inward is perceived, making the sides of the pyramid concave. At the top of the pyramid the corner blocks are extremely well fastened into the course, and at the summit they are of the hardest limestone.

It seems probable that in the construction of the pyramid certain numerical proportions were aimed at. If we divide the vertical height by seven, the result is a little over sixty-eight. From the base of the pyramid to the floor of the queen's chamber the distance is between sixty-seven and sixty-eight feet. From the base of the pyramid to the floor of the king's chamber it is a little more than double that distance, being just twice sixty-nine feet; while from the base downward to the roof of the subterranean chamber it is sixty-nine feet. From the base of the pyramid to the roof of the upper chamber the height is three times sixty-nine feet. It seems possible that this division into sevens was intended, but it is very uncertain. The relation of the length of the base to the height is also curious. If we divide the length of the base, seven hundred and sixty-five feet, by eleven, we get sixty-nine and a fraction; if we multiply this sixty-nine

by seven, we get again the height, four hundred and eighty-three feet. The queen's chamber was placed at half the height of the king's chamber, just one quarter of the whole height, and exactly in the middle of the pyramid from north to south. The cubit was the measure adopted in the general construction of the pyramid. The lengths of the ascending entrance passages and the antechamber passages are all in some round number of cubits. The square of the dimensions of the king's and the queen's chambers, the antechambers, and the subterranean passages are all even numbers of square cubits and also multiples of ten. The proportion of the diameter of a circle to its circumference is called the π proportion, and this relation seems to have been observed in the construction of the Great Pyramid. A simple and yet close ratio of the diameter to the circumference is that of seven to twenty-two, and with these numbers the height and base of the pyramid are very closely connected. Taking seven as the number by which the height is to be determined, twenty-two answers to the half-circumference of the pyramid. The floor of the king's chamber was placed at the level where the vertical section of the pyramid was halved, where the area of the horizontal section was half that of the base, where the diagonal from corner to corner was equal to the length of the base, and where the width of the base of the pyramid was equal to half of the diagonal of the base.

While it is probable that we know all the chambers of the Great Pyramid, yet the mass is so great that it may contain others. The Great Pyramid is an exception to the general rule which governs Egyptian buildings, for, in general, they show no attempt to secure a system of numerical proportions between the different parts. There was a distinct decline in Egyptian construction in the later periods. The beauty of execution in the more finely constructed parts of the Great Pyramid is not equalled in any of the later constructions of the Egyptians for three thousand years. The hasty constructions erected by the conquering kings of the Middle

Empire, though vast and superb in their magnificence, were often inaccurate in their measurements, and show a lack of the fine masonry exhibited in the Great Pyramid. Most of this masonry is astonishingly beautiful, and some of the blocks of stone in the Great Pyramid offer surfaces of more than thirty square feet, and yet the joints are so accurate that a slip of paper could not be thrust between them. Moreover, the blocks are so smooth that the masons were able to insert over the whole surface a very fine cement not one fiftieth of an inch in thickness. The accomplishment of this work required excellent tools and very skilful workmanship.

The tools used by the Egyptians in working stone, though necessarily imperfect, were quite beyond those used at the present time. They must have had saws with teeth which would not be turned by the hardest material. It appears certain that the saws had jewel points, of sapphire, diamond, or possibly corundum, as Mr. Petrie suggests. At any rate, the saws, probably of copper, were pointed, and the free cutting point was of considerable extent, for in some cases the marks on the stone indicate that the saws must have been eight feet in length. These, of course, were very costly instruments, and it is probable that they belonged to the national treasury. There has been much question as to the use of iron among the Egyptians, but there is little doubt now that its use belongs to the time of the Great Pyramid, where it served the purpose of supports for levers.

It is not exactly known how the blocks were cut from the quarry. Of course, they might first have been split out coarsely, and then worked down, but great blocks are found with no mark of the tool on them, and yet the sides are of wonderful evenness. In modern times we drill holes in the stone, fill the holes with powder or dynamite, and then blow the block out. It very often happens that the sides of the block are not regular and have to be dressed down, but the rough blocks of the Egyptian buildings are generally very

flat, as though broken out of the quarry. Moreover, the marks on the blocks show that the holes were made by tubular saws with jewel points. These saws were turned in much the same way that we turn an auger or a gimlet, so that the amount of stone cut away at each turn is marked along the sides of the drill-holes, and gives proof that the saws were worked under the weight of many tons. When the tubular saw had been driven into the block as deep as required, it left a little core standing, free except at its base; this was easily knocked out. Another hole was then made as near the first as necessary, and so on, around the block, which was thus cut out. The blades of the saws were made of bronze or of hardened copper, as is known by the green stain they left. The Egyptians had turning-lathes also, which they used in turning out and ornamenting articles of stone.

Such a monument as the Great Pyramid is especially interesting, since it indicates a very long antecedent period of civilization before history began. The geologists carry back the formation of the soil of Egypt an indefinitely long time; and at a depth indicating not less than eleven thousand or twelve thousand years remains of pottery have been discovered very similar to those found later. There seems no reason to question the fact that the valley of the Nile had been inhabited by civilized men for more thousands of years before history began than it has been since.

In the construction of the pyramids the laborer had a certain pleasure in seeing them grow under his hand. So in agricultural labor, the man who sows the seed and ploughs the ground has delight in observing the result of his work. But there is a vast deal of labor in modern times in which the laborer cannot take pleasure. His work is wearisome, exhaustive, and in some cases degrading and without apparent results. There is nothing but monotony in the physical toil of the miner. So, too, in manufactures the introduction of machinery more and more lowers the workmen, till they

become little more than parts of the machine which they oversee and guide, and by which the character of their work is determined. The Oriental rugs, made by the hand of man using the rudest machines, are beautiful examples of his taste refined by long practice, of his intelligence directed to the choice of the design and color. There is no such pleasure in making carpets nowadays, for the workman's part is a merely mechanical one. There is hardly a work made by the hand which does not bear the clear impress of the nervous susceptibility of the workman. The touch of the hand of man vitalizes the work, while the touch of the dead machine destroys its life. Every one can distinguish hand-made from machine-made lace. We can get a thousand yards of the machine-made lace, in which one yard is like every other yard, but we cannot get one yard of hand-made lace in which one inch is not delightfully different from every other. But hand-made work has the disadvantage of being more costly. Are we willing to pay for the superiority of the hand-made articles? Nine tenths of us are not, because we do not see their superiority, and are not cultivated enough to take pleasure in such things; but we ought to live more simply, having fewer articles and finer. That does not mean that the articles must be more expensive in material or more showy; but they will be finer because they are the product of the human faculties wisely directed.

Now, the point of such a discussion as this is, that if we desire to improve the condition of the laborer, we must limit the employment of machines, as far as possible, to the making of objects of which great quantities are needed, and into which taste and beauty do not enter; we must be content that linen and cotton cloth be made by machinery; but take the objects of common use, if we will content ourselves with a more simple living, we may do something to restore art to the workman, and to give him a pleasure in his work.

There can be no doubt that one of the evils of our modern civilization is that the desire for display is so universal, —

the excessive use of objects which are ugly, but which add to the luxury of life. The sense of appropriateness, however, is what distinguishes the gentleman and the lady. One very striking fact in the Egyptian civilization is that all the objects of decoration, even the little images of clay, are almost without exception elegant ; they show a refinement of taste in the workmen, and also in those who used them.

The Great Pyramid stands, then, as a monument of human effort and design, and is superior to most works of its kind that have been done since ; and when everything now built shall have disappeared from the face of the earth, the Great Pyramid seems likely to stand as a monument of the early progress of the race. But to erect noble buildings that shall embody intellectual capacity, we need other modes of construction. The pyramid, however skilfully constructed, is a low style of building.

The Egyptians attained to other forms of building, among which was that style most important in later centuries, the arch ; but they did not put it to any great use. It was long supposed that the Romans were the first to use the arch ; but the investigations of this century show that the Egyptians understood the use of the arch two thousand or three thousand years B. C. ; it was used by the Assyrians also.

There are two great methods which men have adopted for buildings of importance. The model of one is a block, called the lintel, supported at each end by a column. This is the simplest type of the arch, and was followed by the Egyptians in the construction of their palaces and temples. The other style is the arch resting on piers, and may be of all degrees of slope, from a semicircle to a pointed arch. These two include the types of all the great buildings erected by man. In modern times there has arisen a third, an elastic style of building made on a skeleton of iron rods, as the Crystal Palace of London. These form a class by themselves, and have not yet developed into a proper style, where beauty forms them into one of the fine arts.

Now, the arch is one of the most difficult of constructions. How is an arch to be built with blocks of material? How is the upper part to support itself? Of course, the arch may be hollowed out of solid stone; but if we build an arch free, how can we keep the upper part from falling to the ground? This was an immense problem to the ancients, and the earliest arches that we find are built of separate blocks, increasing in length till they meet at the top. But this is merely a modified lintel construction, each block being supported on the other. If we imagine the corners of the blocks cut off, we have a smooth semicircular or a pointed arch. This is called the corbelled arch, and has been practised everywhere; but it is awkward, and introduces nothing new in construction. The next step was important, for it brought in the true principle on which the arch was to be constructed. The blocks were made wedge-shaped, so that the top of one would fit the lower part of the next; these were called *voussoirs*, or vaulting blocks, and rested on a pillar or column. All these blocks, thus resting on each other, are closed at the top by a block called the key-stone; but each one of the blocks is really a key-stone, for it holds the rest. The radiated arch is a common form, in which the sloping sides of the blocks all meet in an imaginary point. This central point may be at the point of spring of the arch, or above or below it, and according to the position of this point will be the character of the arch. The outer side of the arch is known as the *extrados*, and the inner, the *intrados*. The radiated arch, when properly constructed, will bear an immense weight; but it is impossible to construct a semicircular arch with a very wide diameter, the greatest arches of this kind being less than one hundred feet across. The difficulty is that the weight of a very wide arch tends to crush in its central point. Then, too, the round arch is, of necessity, low, while we may build a pointed arch much higher, for the weight is borne almost perpendicularly. Nevertheless, however pointed the arch, the pressure upon it

is not exerted directly from above ; hence the arch will not support such a mass above it as the simple lintel, unless the pressure exerted in the direction of the wall itself shall fall within the line of the pier. Now, instead of making the pier very large, the outward pressure of the arch may be met by erecting a buttress, placed where the pressure exerts itself outward with the greatest force ; this point can be determined by mathematical calculations as to the strength and resistance of the material used. This outward pressure of the arch, on account of its curve, is called the thrust ; hence the arch is never theoretically safe, — not as safe as where block is piled upon block, as in the case of the pyramid. There is nothing to disturb the construction of the pyramid or the lintel, except external forces ; but, as has been said, the arch never sleeps, it is always exerting a force outward.

The Egyptians were, as far as we know, the first race to make any use of the arch. Some very ancient tombs with arched roof have been found in the desert fields near the pyramids ; but the round arch was the only one that the Egyptians used. About the same time the arch came to be used by the Assyrians. They too used the round arch chiefly, but in some of their smaller works the pointed arch is found. The Greeks used the arch but very little ; in the whole range of their monuments, but two or three arches are known. The arch was somewhat used by the Greeks in bridging streams ; but this use may have been introduced in later times by the Romans. The Romans became the great arch builders of the world, for their Empire was founded on a system of arches. The Romans used the round arch exclusively, and it was not till the twelfth century A. D. that the beauties of the pointed arch were displayed in the magnificent structures of the time. It is surprising that the Egyptians, who discovered the arch and became such great builders, used it so little ; for if we look through two thousand years of Egyptian building, we find the arch never used in their important

structures, as the tombs of the first empire, the empire that included the first ten dynasties, lasting from 5000 to 3000 B. C., according to Mariette's chronology. These structures, called Mastabas, at first the tombs of great persons, were occasionally replaced by tombs cut in the rock. During the Middle Empire, however, when the seat of power was changed from Memphis to Thebes, from about 3064 B. C. to 1700 B. C., a period which included the eight dynasties from the eleventh to the seventeenth, the character of the tombs changes. It is necessary to follow these changes, for the tombs are the most important of the erections of the Egyptians, since they give us some knowledge of Egyptian thought and sentiment.

The cemetery at Abydos, near Thebes, was the most important of the Theban cemeteries. It had been used during the Old Empire, but during the New Empire it became as important as the region of Saccara during the Old. The Middle Empire invented nothing in the way of new forms; it did not build any Mastabas, it still constructed pyramidal tombs, which were of very small size compared to the great pyramids. The most important of the tombs of the Middle Empire were those cut out of solid rock. On passing into one of these tombs, we enter a chamber; if the tomb is ready for occupancy, we find a direct passage in the rock, long and narrow, for eighty feet, sometimes perpendicular, sometimes sloping, called the well, and at the bottom we come to another chamber. Commonly the upper chamber was the place where the statues, or figures that represented the dead, were placed, and the walls were painted with scenes from life. After the body had been laid in the chamber at the bottom of the well, the well itself was filled up with loose stone, often cemented together; so that, in attempting to reach this lower chamber, it has been found easier to make a new well than to dig through the hard concrete with which the original one was filled,—so careful were the Egyptians to secure the safety of the body.

The great change during the Middle Empire was the development of the temples belonging to royal persons, and the temples at Thebes are the most splendid remains of Egyptian art. No buildings in the world are more impressive than these temples, built not only for religious services, but as the habitations of vast numbers of priests, and also at times to give shelter to the king himself, who was regarded as a being partaking of the divine nature. Most of the temples remain, the ruined monuments of a very powerful and advanced race. When we compare their size with any built since, the lavish expenditure of labor and material becomes apparent; the great importance of the religious conceptions of the Egyptians, in regard to life and immortality, is impressed upon us more and more, and the fact that the whole intellectual life of the Egyptians centred in their religious services. But besides these splendid tombs, which were built for the worship of the gods, and especially for the honor of the kings, there was a vast number of smaller buildings; near the tombs of the great and wealthy were the tombs of the poor. In theory, every Egyptian should have an eternal dwelling-place on the earth; but the poor could not afford to secure this by costly tombs; they were buried wherever it could be done most cheaply and with the least inconvenience to the living.

The population of Egypt was very dense, probably seven or eight millions of people, three times as many in the same area as in Massachusetts. Now, as the food of the Egyptians came from the land itself, all productive land had to be cultivated. So the tombs of the great men were situated beyond the line of irrigation, on the rocky plateaus and desert places, where the waters of the Nile never reached. Another objection to having the cemeteries in the cultivated land would be the displacement of the landmarks by the overflow of the river. The poor also found their last resting-place in the desert. Some were buried in clefts of the rock, in the hope that there the body might find a safe lodging; and at Thebes;

during the seventeenth and eighteenth dynasties, some 2000 B. C., great trenches were dug in the sand, and into these the bodies of the poor were heaped more or less pell-mell. The bodies were partly secured against destruction by embalming ; they were wrapped in linen cloths dipped in pitch or bitumen. What little could be done by the poor was done ; but they were wretches in the eyes of the rich Egyptians, and were of little account. There were some funeral rites performed, and the grave-digger scattered a little sand over the body. Sometimes bodies have been found wrapped in palm branches. When they had the means, the poor would secure for the body a rough box, not painted or carved like the elaborate mummy-cases of the rich, which were often made of stone, but usually of wood, for wood was practically indestructible in the dry climate of Egypt. The mummy-cases of the rich were painted with prayers, invocations, and directions, which were to serve for the dead during the eternal existence in the other world. Sometimes a few objects were buried with the bodies of the poor ; when the tombs are opened, a pair of sandals is sometimes found, which were to protect the feet during the long journey, also a staff for support ; a little necklace or string of tiny blue beads was very common. There were also frequently found small clay images of the deities, or representations of the dead, of which thousands would certainly not cost a cent, stamped, as they were, with a mould. On the arm, neck, or leg of the corpses of the poor is sometimes found a twisted cord, supposed to preserve the dead from the influence of evil spirits.

From the beginning of history down to the present time, perhaps the most important social lesson is in regard to the inequalities of men as regards their opportunities for enjoyment in this life, and the difficulty which there has been in establishing a reasonable equality in the advantages of life among the rich and the poor. For every man who has had the opportunities for fully developing himself with such a degree of freedom which secures to him not only self-indepen-

dence, but also the enjoyment of the pleasures which the earth affords, a thousand have been intellectually starved. The fact of the distress, suffering, and misery of the great mass of men is enforced by the Egyptians. Our own civilization in this respect is but very little better than those that have preceded it; but on the whole we see in the United States a fairer distribution of advantages than has elsewhere been obtained.

The New Empire, as it is called by those who divide the history of Egypt into three periods, the Old, Middle, and New Empires, extended from the eighteenth to the twenty-sixth dynasties inclusive, at which time the Egyptian rule came to an end, and was succeeded by that of the Persians. The New Empire would date, according to Mariette, from 1703 B. C. to 527 B. C., when the Persians, under Cambyses, conquered Egypt. This period includes the time when most of the greatest monuments which remain in ruins were erected. Quite a number of interesting, superb and striking works were erected under the Greek rulers, the Ptolemies, after 305 B. C.; but the works which give character to the Egyptian landscape at the present day, excepting the pyramids, impress the traveler with the enormous number of buildings of the Egyptians belonging to the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dynasties, from 1703 B. C. to 1100 B. C. In the period of two hundred to two hundred and fifty years, during which the eighteenth dynasty ruled Egypt, the most building was done; and the splendor of the rulers and the resources at their command are indicated by the great number of magnificent monuments which they erected at Thebes, the chief seat of the empire.

The greatest and most important among the rulers of the eighteenth dynasty were Thothmes I., II., and III., and Amunoph III. Thothmes III. and Amunoph III. made conquests outside of Egypt, and extended their power far into Asia. In the nineteenth dynasty, which had its seat at Thebes, the kings named Rameses and the Seti were all

conquerors, especially the last, and Rameses II., known to the Greeks as Sesostris. This Rameses II. had a very long reign of sixty-seven years, during which many works, now among the most striking of the ruins of Egypt, were erected. The conquests of Egypt were extended during this period, and the first canal was built between the Red Sea and the Nile. But these conquests were succeeded by a series of defeats, and after the reign of Rameses III., which ended about 1200 B. C., Egypt lost most of her foreign possessions. In 527 B. C. the Persians took possession of Egypt, and after that time the country was governed mainly by foreign rulers.

Now, among the works that the Egyptians have left for our admiration, there are none more striking for their number and splendor than the temples. The whole of their political system, as we have seen, was founded on religious conceptions. The king was the intermediary between God and man. It has not been long since the modern world had the notion of the divine right of kings; this prevailed in Europe to 1700 with very little contradiction, so slow is man in overcoming the superstitions which pervade his progress. It would be very interesting to investigate the mental condition of the average man, to see how many prehistoric conceptions and superstitions still prevail. It would be found that a very large part were those that prevailed in barbaric times. Take one of the conceptions that earliest affect barbaric races, the idea of the intervention of the dead in the concerns of the living. We have societies of psychological research, which are investigating the matter, and an immense sect of Spiritualists, whose confirmed belief is that there are communications with the spirits of the dead; and yet there has not been a single iota of satisfactory evidence that the spirits of the dead have anything to do with the affairs of the living.

Just as our bodies bear the stamp and carry the impress of generations of men long past, so our minds inherit certain beliefs and superstitions, for which the evidence is wanting. We inherit a great deal from the early races; perhaps our

greatest inheritance is the power of expression through the various arts, and this power ought to become more full, more capable of enlarging the thought, because it is in words that thought is expressed. Language is thought expressed in words, and as a general dogma, it is safe enough to say that there can be no thought without words. Now, thought undoubtedly advances from generation to generation, but the advance of thought depends, of course, on the increase and perfection of language. It is very striking that in many of the modes of expression the advance has been very slight since the time of the Egyptians, and some of the modes then most common are comparatively absent in our civilization. There is not, in all Europe or North America, any building which is ornamented with sculpture as fully and graphically as many of the buildings in Egypt. We do not now resort to carvings or to designs in the flat to tell our history, to the degree that the Egyptians did. We may compare an Egyptian temple, with its walls carved with the histories of the kings and the representations of the religious services in which they engaged, to our weekly illustrated newspapers; although these papers are for the most part very transient, yet they do represent our civilization to a large extent. The future historian has a large source of information in these illustrated papers, and it is a great pity that we have no similar records of the events of the Middle Ages.

In studying these pictorial records of the Egyptians, we are first impressed with their extent, then with the limitation of ideas; similar scenes are constantly represented. We are impressed with the extraordinary skill of many of the representations, and also with their extreme childishness; but many of the representations of human beings employed in work cannot be improved.

It was principally on the temples, as has been stated, that sculpture was displayed. The temples were the most important buildings erected during the time that Egypt was at peace. This depended on the fact that the state was

founded on religion ; the king was considered as the agent through whom the gods were to be induced to take the part of man, and he was believed to be transported in some way to the region of the gods after death. The sacerdotal caste, the priests, was the most important in the state, and it was necessary that the state should provide for their rites and ordinances. The adoration of the gods was required, and the great services at the temples, in which the Egyptian people were invited to take part, occupied most of the year. The life of the Egyptians was mainly one of leisure. The poorer class did not need to work always, and there were many days devoted to religious services for the whole people. The temples were designed for the performance of the regular services of the king and the priests, and also for those splendid services, performed from time to time, by which the people were to be impressed, and their dependence upon divine power emphasized. The structures belonging to this period were magnificent ; so splendid that no temples of any race can compete with them in grandeur of design, costliness of execution, or in the extraordinary display by which the fancy and feelings of men were touched. One curious feature of these temples was, that they were not only structures erected to please the gods, but to a large measure were personal monuments of these semi-divine kings. The temple designed for the services of the gods was a monument to commemorate the actions of the king, all supposed to be accomplished under divine favor. There is a general similarity in the type of the greater temples, although there is considerable variety in the construction of the different parts. A complete account, with illustrations of the plan of these temples, will be found in the books referred to at the end of this chapter.

It is noteworthy that during the long practice of art in Egypt there was very little true development. The system of Egyptian building was such as scarcely to admit of an intelligent, progressive improvement in the work. Reber,

on the thirty-sixth page of his "Ancient Art," says: "The architecture of Egypt was practised in a manner to show almost no historical development; with the sculpture this is the case in still greater degree." This statement is, in a sense, not correct. The styles of Egyptian architecture are very marked, and although we cannot say that there was a progressive development, yet there was such a change in the character of the sculpture as to indicate considerable activity of mind. It is a very old error to consider Egyptian art as mechanical, — an error as old as Plato. (See "Laws," Book II., p. 657, old paging.) There is a very clear discernment of the styles at different periods of Egyptian history. The early practice and the unbroken continuity of the arts are among the most striking characteristics of Egyptian life and the enormous number and extent of their arts are unsurpassed by any other race that has expressed itself in sculpture or painting.

There were three modes of sculpture. The most important may be called statuary in the round, — the technical phrase for figures standing clear and independent. Then there is statuary formed by engraving, by cutting out lines on a flat surface. Intaglio sculpture is a form of drawing with the chisel on stone. Then there is the proper relief, the bas or low, and the alto or high relief: in the former the sculpture is little raised; in the latter it is raised several inches, giving the effect of the half-cut figure in the round. There was also a third variety of sculpture, practised by the Egyptians more than by any other race, the relief *en creux*, that is, relief in a hollow, a relief in a space surrounded by a framework of stone. The relief *en creux* is thus formed by figures that rise to the level of the frame; the panel itself is hollowed out as a whole. Sometimes these figures project even above the line of the framework, but they are generally a little below, so as to be kept from injury. This form of sculpture was much practised by the Egyptians in their minor works. Now, all these sculptures in relief or in intaglio bear

a very close relation to painting, for the effect of the sculpture was heightened by the coloring of a great part of the work. The materials employed by the Egyptians for sculpture in the round were very numerous. They used wood, a soft calcareous stone, or a hard stone like granite, syenite, or porphyry; besides stone and wood they used metal, ivory, and also clay, and the different materials had very different effects. The style determined to a large measure the material. The range of colors used is exactly the same as in painting without carving. The color sense of the Egyptians was not very refined, and they used mostly the natural colors. There has been found in an ancient Egyptian tomb a palette in perfect preservation, with the colors in the different spaces; this may be seen at Florence. In it are two yellows, two reds, a green, a blue, and a black, and these are the main colors used by the Egyptians.

The earliest sculpture we find is the most remarkable, belonging to the Old Empire; even going back as far as the second dynasty, we find figures of men and women that are extraordinary for their life-likeness and general truthfulness in the delineation of the body and the expression. We have also very rude figures; but most of the figures belonging to an extraordinarily early civilization surpass all others known in the freedom of action and the individuality of portraiture. There is the figure of a sculptured Ræmke in the Louvre, which has often been taken for a real person; it dates back three thousand eight hundred years B. C. Another very early sculpture is known as the "School-Master of Boulac," of which the head is very life-like. Now, this early development of sculpture in Egypt, especially this individuality of portraiture, this skill in the representation of action and expression, is one of the most remarkable characteristics of Egyptian art. The expression of the face becomes more and more refined with the advance of civilization, and there is much less variety among savages than among civilized men. The development of expression seems to have been slow in the race; it is too

slow among civilized men, because even yet there is little attention paid to the importance of its culture. The human face and figure are shaped by the character. We know that the dull man will have a dull and inexpressive countenance; the man with keen, intelligent faculties will have a vigorous expression. But we do not generally reflect that during every moment of our lives the expression of our faces and figures is being shaped by our dispositions. We cannot make a Roman nose into a Greek nose; but we know how noses that are short and stumpy will in a year lengthen and become pointed, partly by growth, but the muscular part will be determined by the influences at work in shaping the character. We are very dull in observing things, we cultivate the power of observation very little, and our judgments are therefore crude. The savage has extremely acute powers of observation in certain respects, developed by the exigencies of his life. Thus different occupations shape the powers of observation in different ways. The shepherd sees a different look in each of his sheep; and as animals rise in the scale of nature, the expression of the face varies. Horses, dogs, and cats are probably all the animals in which we commonly note a difference of expression; but the herder sees it in his cattle. Our general inattention, however, our want of regard for what the human countenance tells us in regard to character, is one of the reasons why civilization is so slow in its advance. If our expression, as we all must admit, is determined by our mental and moral character, one of the most interesting studies that a man can make is to ascertain what the expression of his fellows really signifies.

We have spoken of the remarkable naturalness exhibited in the representations of life, in the very earliest stage of Egyptian sculpture. This excellence was undoubtedly not universal; there are found some very rude figures as well. After the sixth dynasty there was a long period of very little sculpture. The art was renewed early in the Middle Empire, under the twelfth dynasty, but the greater part of the sculp-

tures which have come down to us belong to the New Empire, and the number of these is enormous, both in the round and in relief. We are led to believe, from the account of Reber, that the type of painting in Egypt remained unchanged for thousands of years, and was so simple that the sexes could not be recognized by their heads. This is not true; there are abundant works which show great individuality of expression. The general characters may be called monotonous on account of the great number of similar forms, but there are very many in which the attitudes, forms, and expressions vary as much as in the sculpture of any race. During the greater part of Egyptian history it was the custom to carve the figure of the king and of some of the deities from very hard material, as granite. It is true, that in all sculpture the material has a great effect in establishing the limit and the quality of the work. There is one kind of work for marble, another for ivory, another for granite, another for bronze. If a student of sculpture were to see casts in plaster of the original sculptures, he would be able to tell, by the characteristics which the cast exhibited, from what material the original of the cast was made.

The first task which the sculptor has to accomplish is to overcome the hindrances which the various materials present, and to find the way to take advantage of their properties; this always requires a long time, but not until these difficulties are mastered is the power of the sculptor exhibited. It is very difficult to treat granite in such a way as to represent animated action. We cannot easily cut an arm or a leg in granite that shall stand free in the figure, for the force required to cut the granite might break the arm; the legs also are not likely to be widely separated. So the Egyptians accommodated themselves to the conditions of the material, and made their granite statues usually very simple in action and attitude, and used means by which the various parts might be strengthened. Almost always the statues in the harder materials are seated in a chair, with a high back or

some ornament for the support of the head. So, too, the arms of seated figures are generally represented close to the side and brought forward upon the legs. In erect figures the arms are generally left hanging close to the side, and a smooth mass of stone is left joining the legs. But although simplicity of attitude was required by the material, yet the sculptor often succeeded in rendering very impressively and clearly the individual characteristics of the person whom he had to represent. There is not merely great simplicity in the lines, but often great elegance. The lines are determined by the sense of beauty and appropriateness, and the artist succeeded in giving to his persons the characteristics which ought to belong to divine or royal natures. In these statues, which had a half-religious character, the sculptors have succeeded in expressing those simple qualities which are expressed with vigor in the Egyptian architecture,—repose, stateliness, and tranquillity of soul. There is very little individuality in the attitude, to represent complex feelings or sentiments, and yet the likeness is characteristic; we cannot mistake the likeness of one king for that of another. There are no more impressive statues in the world, in the representation of those qualities that should belong to a person exalted above the cares of this world, than the nobler figures of the Egyptian sculpture.

When we come to the bas-reliefs or sculptures incised upon stone, we find a much greater variety; but the Egyptian artist is hindered by a certain lack of technical knowledge; he does not know the laws of perspective. So when he has a large number of figures of the same size and on one plane, if he wants to represent continuous action, he will give the different movements of the scene one above another. If the Egyptian painter desired to represent a canal running between trees, he was at a loss how to give the flat surface of the canal, and the height of the trees. He would draw the trees, and then up in the air would put a wavy line representing the canal. But if we take the

Egyptian sculpture at its best, where there are a few figures separately engraved in some simple action, we find that there is great vivacity and essential truth, although there is rarely a true position, because all the figures are in profile; the eye is that of the full face, and a three-quarters view of the shoulders is given, while the face is in profile. With this difficulty the Egyptians still succeeded in giving many admirable representations of life. There have been no more animated scenes of hunting and of battle than some of those taken from Egyptian art. On the walls of the temples at Thebes we find Egyptian scenes represented with a truth hardly surpassed; we also find typical representations of the races of men, so that we may distinguish not merely the Egyptians, but their prisoners, their allies, and the various races, among others the Negro, the Jew, the Greek, and the Arab, with which the conditions of life brought them in contact.

Now, it is interesting and important to note that we have in the Egyptians a people that had gained not only a mode of expressing themselves by means of writing, — a writing which, though cumbrous, was still a medium through which thought was transmitted, — but they had gained the art of expression in sculpture and in painting; and through their works we gain a knowledge of Egyptian history, life, and character that is applied in completing our knowledge of the later races. The Egyptians had made the most important acquisition which man as a civilized being has gained, — the power of expression, — for on this power depends the progress of the race. Traditional knowledge must be very small indeed, unless it can be preserved in some form of expression. The growth of knowledge depends on these arts of expression; but the quality of the imagination is determined by our knowledge, and as knowledge is dependent on the arts of expression, we find that the imagination itself very largely depends indirectly on the growth of knowledge, and directly upon the development of these arts of expression. On the advance and quality of knowledge depends the quality of the

imagination. The imagination seeks to express itself, and in its high endeavor aims at forms of expression that shall be beautiful; and as it requires some power to express itself, each new acquisition of power tends to make the sense of beauty more accurate, more delicate, more deep, so that the arts of expression are the arts through which the culture of the beautiful becomes possible.

A large part of the effort of the artist, in whatever field he may work, is included under the word "selection." He has to choose, out of the various forms which nature has given, those which are the most typical, the most beautiful. The Egyptians had attained this; they had advanced to a considerable height in selecting those aspects of nature which are permanent and possess elements of universal beauty. In the figures of their kings the Egyptians had secured the ideals of stateliness, repose, superiority, and supremacy. They had reached that period of development which sought for the expression of ideals of the imagination; but at times that development was very partial. We find that they had few noble ideas of the gods; their images of the gods that have been found are less dignified, and show less strength of imagination, than their images of royalty. One curious characteristic which shows how simple their development was, is that they represented their gods with the bodies of men, but the heads of animals. This shows a strangely perverted conception, for the head is the seat of intelligence, and the intelligence of man is the part which approaches nearest the divine. Another characteristic of Egyptian sculpture which shows the imperfection of the imagination is a liking for colossal figures. Grandeur does not depend on size, but on proportion. There are colossal figures that have an effect on the imagination; for example, the Sphinx, carved out of a rock of enormous size. There is something very striking in the expression of this vast figure that has come down from remote antiquity, typical of Egypt herself lying half buried in the sands. Its size is fit for the desert; but when we find

such colossal figures in connection with buildings, the sculptured figure is out of proportion with the architecture, and it is simply monstrous. The architecture is dwarfed by it, and the figure loses the grandeur it might have if it stood alone.

Little has yet been said about the literature of Egypt. As has been stated, the Egyptians wrote on the leaves of the papyrus plant. In the sixth volume of the "Records of the Past" is the translation of a document "generally known as the Great Harris Papyrus, one of the finest, best written, and best preserved that have been discovered in Egypt. It measures one hundred and thirty-three feet long by sixteen and three fourths inches broad, and was found with several others in a tomb behind Medinat Haber. Purchased soon after by the late A. C. Harris, of Alexandria, it was subsequently unrolled and divided into seventy-nine leaves, and laid down on card-board. With the exception of some small portions which are wanting in the first, the text is complete throughout. After the decease of Mr. Harris, his collection of papyri was brought to England by his daughter, Miss Harris, and sold to the British Museum through the mediation of Prof. Eisenlohr, who was then in England." The object of the papyrus is the address after death of the king, Rameses III., recounting the benefits he had conferred upon Egypt by his administration, and deliverance of the country from foreign subjection, and also the immense gifts which he had bestowed on the temples of Egypt. "The last part is addressed to the officers of the army, consisting partly of Sardinian and Libyan mercenaries, and to the people of Egypt in the thirty-second year of his reign, and is a kind of posthumous, panegyrical discourse or political will, like that of Augustus discovered at Ancyra." ("Record of the Past," Vol. VI.) The value of this record is that it presents to us very numerous facts which enable us to form some judgment of the mature civilization of Egypt at this time, the splendor and variety of the resources, the development of the arts, and the accumulation of the treasure which the king piled up in

his treasury or in the temples for the service of the government, for the public works, or for use in war. Almost every part of it is of interest. In one part is an account of the things that Rameses gave to one of the gods whom the Egyptians worshipped in the aspect of the sun; and among the articles which he gave to the temple of the god "as a gift for ever and ever" were gardens, towns, gold, silver, jewels, bronze, bracelets, linen, incense, wax, oil, perfumes, corn and wine, settings of rings, gems, silver vessels and golden vessels, a long list of dresses, embroideries, slabs of alabaster, all sorts of provisions in enormous quantities, bread and flesh and flour, salt, figs, and a great number of other articles, a very long list, the importance of which is that we have in it the means of forming some estimate of the resources of the kings, and at the same time of judging of the limitations of the empire, and of the interests of the Egyptians.

From evidence given in various ways we may infer that the conditions of life in Egypt were advantageous, as far as the material interests were concerned. The rich lived luxuriantly, enjoyed various pleasures, as those of the chase, and pursued the occupations that have been the chief occupations of the rich in all lands. All this evidence is enough to show that the Egyptians had gained, as far as the material side of life is concerned, a majority of those things which make one take pleasure in life to-day; and, as has been said, the Egyptians had secured for themselves the means of expression, and exhibited great power in their use. The interesting point is to recognize how very much the Egyptians had gained for themselves, and to define for ourselves the advance, the improvement, the special acquisitions which have been made since the civilization of Egypt fell and disappeared. As regards material things, the advance and acquisitions made since that time were very small up to the present century. The greatest change in the whole course of the historic life of man has been made in this century by the applications of steam and electricity. There has been, in this particular, an

immense gain for civilization, which will be felt when man adapts the powers of nature to himself. As yet, man has not lived long enough with steam and electricity to make them serve his intellectual life.

One of the results of the increase of the facilities for locomotion and the communication of intelligence is the increase in the speed of life ; life in this Western world has become a little breathless. There is a great lack of repose in the life of Europe and America ; this will cease with the adaptation of machinery to man's present condition. In the past, the discovery of the new relations of man to nature afforded an immense stimulus to certain parts of his intellectual development. Never has the growth of man's power been so rapid as during the last sixty years. The intellectual curiosity is now more active than at any time in the past ; but as regards the arrangement of society, as regards the development of that general moral sentiment on which the life of man depends socially for its success, as regards the recognition of the superiority of the things of the spirit over the things of the flesh, there seems to have been no considerable advance since the civilization of the Egyptians reached its height. The limit of the intellectual development of the Egyptians was of course narrow. Suppose a man fully equipped with knowledge to be carried back to Egypt in the time of Rameses III., he would find that the circumference of knowledge is enormously greater now than it was then. The Egyptians, although considerably advanced in the sciences, knew nothing about the geography of the world. Though they had a considerable range of knowledge of all sorts, yet there was no philosophical speculation in regard to the nature of man, and the origin of his existence. Then all was superstition ; there was no mental philosophy, no physiology. We find, therefore, that their minds had comparatively narrow limits for thought. Their civilization preceded others, and they had no account of the past to compare it with, no foundation on which to build. Then, too, they were alone in

civilization, for they had no intercourse with the Assyrian races; there was no conflict and competition, which the existence of races in similar conditions causes. Progress in truth depends on the conflict of ideas, for the best survives. Then the very character of the land, the regularity of the climate, the little variety in the occupations practised in Egypt on account of the character of the soil, such things would be hindrances to any advance in the deeper thought of man. Then another source of limitation of ideas among the Egyptians was the nature of their institutions, which received their foundation at a very early time, and seem to have been maintained on the whole with a permanence and unchangeableness quite unequalled. When there is very little discovery, there will be very little change; when there is no motive for change, there will be very little discovery. Where a despotism exists and a superstitious reverence for forms that have long existed, the minds of men become dull. So it was that the natural conditions and institutions of the Egyptians did not tend to enlarge their material power, or quicken their independence of thought, or develop any strongly marked individuality. The progress of civilization depends very largely indeed on the independence of each individual; so it was owing to the very limitation of the civilization of the Egyptians that it lasted so long. This limitation made men content, prevented their feeling the restless desire for change which possesses the souls of men in modern times; and thus it was given to the Egyptians to develop a civilization far enough to secure all that was essential for the agreeable life of the fortunate part of the community, and an ordinary living for the mass of the poorer and laboring classes. All the things of vital importance to man were secured in an early form by the Egyptians; and when the Egyptian civilization ceased to be the only one in the world, it was enabled to transmit to the later civilizations the best and most essential part of what it had acquired.

In a special study of the Egyptian arts we have to note

two things mainly : one is the essential simplicity of most of their works of art ; there is very little indication of any complex feelings seeking for expression. Simplicity is the rule ; we can gather everything together under two or three simple rules : the temples, pyramids, and tombs are all simple in form ; the statues and painting are all simple expressions of the life of the people. The other main characteristic of Egyptian art is its peculiar excellence of workmanship. There was a great difference, however, in different times ; their skill was the result of a long period of practice, — the fine hand trained from generation to generation. From the carving of a Scarabæus up to the passages of the Great Pyramid, we see a uniformity of excellence of workmanship. These are the two great principles in Egyptian art ; both are easily understood by a study of the historical conditions, and in turning away from the works of the Egyptians to the works of races which offer more of interest to us because they exhibit a greater range of intellectual activity, we cannot at the same time fail to recognize the contribution made by Egypt to the civilization of mankind, which was, speaking broadly, as important as that of any of the races since. In fact, our civilization is built up on the foundations laid by the Egyptians. To come to a recognition of such facts is one of the great purposes of the study of the arts ; it enables us to estimate correctly what other stages of civilization have done for us. It makes us feel our indebtedness to the past, and quickens the sense of obligation to our own time. Our duty is summed up in a single requirement, — a requirement upon each one of us to make the best of himself, that he may show a respectful, a manly gratitude for what has been done for him by those who have gone before.

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CHAPTER III.

MESOPOTAMIA AND PHENICIA.

FROM the Atlantic to the Pacific there extends across Africa and Asia a band of desert, little broken, in which there are two oases. We have been engaged in studying the civilization of the race in the oasis of Egypt; we now turn to another oasis formed by the waters of two great rivers, — the Tigris and the Euphrates, — which, rising in the mountains near the Caspian and Black Seas, flow southward to the Persian Gulf. Along these rivers there was, for centuries, a more settled order than was found anywhere else at that early time, except in Egypt. The origin of the states formed along the borders of these rivers is still involved in great obscurity. The Greeks and Romans knew very little about them. There is a very interesting account of Babylon, and of the society and government of that time, in the first book of Herodotus, and very much later in the second book of Diodorus Siculus; but a more important source of knowledge about Chaldæa and Assyria, about Mesopotamia in general, is to be found in the books of the Bible, which treat of the relations between the monarchs of these provinces and the Hebrew people. The destruction of Jerusalem, and the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, are here recorded. It appears from these books that for centuries the power of Babylon and Nineveh was supreme, and that the people between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean were made subjects or tributaries; but owing to the absence of any continuous history, our knowledge of these nations was very inadequate at the beginning of the century. During the last fifty years, however, the advance of knowledge has been very rapid in

regard to Egypt, and perhaps even more rapid in regard to Assyria and Chaldæa. The discoveries made in this region have been among the most important of our time, yet we do not know who were its original settlers. The best we can say is, that when history begins to take notice of them, there was a mixture of tribes, indicating several migrations from the north, of people who settled here and obtained a higher civilization. Among the earliest names given to this people is the Koushite or Cushite people, and it may be inferred that they belonged to the group of families called Semitic, to which the Jews and most of the races in Asia Minor belong. However, not all the people of this region belong to these races; there are others, the remains of whose language and works indicate a different origin, hidden for the present in obscurity. A word was invented to account for them, — Touranean, — meaning merely those people about whom no definite account can be given. There was also a people called the Scythians, but who they were is a puzzle. Herodotus calls them the oldest of men, who probably belonged to a mountainous region in Central Asia. At the time that history begins, therefore, the people of Mesopotamia were probably Semitic with a mixture of a little other blood.

Mesopotamia is a vast oasis, with a great difference of character between the northern and southern parts. The southern part — Chaldæa — is a land like the delta of the Nile, formed by the deposits from the rivers, which have extended its territory for miles out into the sea. It is therefore a land without stones, tolerably fertile, but containing no extensive forests. There is a lack of trees, excepting the date-palm, which is very abundant. The absence of stone and the lack of timber had a very great influence on the civilization, and on the monuments that were erected by the people. The climate is damp, and not wholesome like that of Egypt; but since the soil was fertile, it supported, in early times, a dense population. To the north, in Babylonia, we find the same marked absence of stone; the trees, however, are more

frequent, while the land, though hardly as fertile, still affords abundant crops. North of Babylon, stone and timber were abundant in the mountains, so that in going northward from Chaldæa to Babylonia we find a gradual change, not merely in the climate, but in the character of the monuments, determined by the materials at hand. In all Mesopotamia, however, timber was little used and stone still less, and the great material for building was clay, used mainly in the form of sun-dried bricks; not kiln dried, because of the lack of material to burn.

There was a very early development in this race of a written language. It seems to have been an independent development, and yet the original elements of the language were, like the Egyptian, pictorial. However, they soon lost their pictorial character, and became wedge-shaped or cuneiform. The wedges of which the characters of the language were made were of different styles and shapes. The simplest form is that of a single wedge; later the wedges were laid across one another in a great variety of ways. The people do not seem to have analyzed sounds and made an alphabet, but they used these characters mainly for syllables. Until forty years ago, however, the meaning of these cuneiform characters was not known. At that time an immense number of monuments were discovered, and one in particular, which in the Assyrian language holds the same place as the Rosetta Stone in the Egyptian. The "Inscription of Behistun," as it is called, was discovered by Sir Henry Rawlinson about the year 1840, and is an engraving on the face of a precipice of the exploits of the famous Persian king, Darius. It was written in the ancient Persian language, which could be read, and also in the cuneiform writing. Thus the first clew to the understanding of the language was obtained. It has since been found that four or five different languages were written with these cuneiform characters.

The monuments of the early Chaldæan empire, which seems to have been the first to establish order, are very scanty, and

do not show great excellence; but as we come north to the great city of Babylon, and still farther north to Nineveh, we find an improvement in the architecture, a very large range of ideas, and the evidence of a comparatively high civilization as early as 1500 B. C.

Babylon is one of the most famous names in all history; its name means The Gate of the God Ilu. Nothing is known about its foundation; but from one of the records in the temple at Thebes, we learn that Thothmes III. pushed his conquests far enough to make himself master of Babylon, then a great city. The extent of the city was enormous, its population was very great, and its power extended over all Mesopotamia. However, it was finally conquered and destroyed by the Persians under Darius. There was apparently an unsettled condition of things along these rivers; a continual conflict for supremacy between Chaldæa and Assyria. All that is known of this region has been made out since Rawlinson discovered the innumerable records which are preserved, not as in Egypt on stone or papyrus, but on clay.

The cuneiform character of the language was determined largely by the fact that the people found clay the best material on which to write. They took a tablet of clay about an inch and a half thick, and somewhat rounded on the edges, and while the clay was still soft they made their cuneiform characters with a wooden style. Since they wrote from right to left and from top to bottom, the instrument would naturally make a wedge-shaped figure; but as they acquired greater facility, their writing changed, and they did not always shape their characters in the form of an exact wedge. After the tablets were inscribed, they were baked, to preserve the writing. Inscriptions were made on cylinders and cones of clay as well as on tablets. Many of the smaller cylinders are of precious stones, elaborately engraved. Now, one would have supposed that as clay, the material on which the great mass of inscription was written, was so fragile, these inscriptions must long since have been destroyed; but

quite the opposite is the case. A stone building may be shattered completely, and time will wear away inscriptions on the hardest stone ; but suppose a palace to be built with walls six feet thick, and beams of wood on which may rest a second story, — such a mass as this is not to be scattered. Time does its work, the beams decay, the upper story falls, and the building becomes nothing but a great mound of earth. Such has been the fate and such is the appearance of the former buildings of Assyria. In excavating these mounds, the libraries contained in the palaces of the kings have been discovered. Buried under one hundred feet of clay soil have been found thousands of the tablets on which the accounts, the contracts, and the literature of the inhabitants of Nineveh were written. From these we learn that here in Assyria was a very early civilization that lasted nearly two thousand years, and reached a very considerable development of intellectual power, — a civilization which showed that the people had attained no little delicacy and depth of sentiment. It was contemporaneous for a long time with the Egyptian civilization, and fell at about the same date. The record of its existence disappeared so completely from the face of the earth that one hundred years ago almost nothing was known of it ; now we know the historical sequence from 1500 or 1600 B. C. with comparative fulness. We have a list of the kings and know what they accomplished, and in a few years it seems likely that we shall be able to write the annals of Mesopotamia as well as we can those of Egypt and of Greece. It is an immense conquest over the past.

There is something extremely pathetic in digging into these mounds of clay long deserted, some glazed over in the course of time by the forces of nature ; there is something pathetic in the fact that such a civilization, so splendid, so magnificent, should have been buried so completely, waiting for the energy of the investigators of this generation to reveal its hidden wealth. In the thirteenth chapter of the Book of the Prophet Isaiah we read : “ And Babylon, the glory of

kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces: and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged." The site of Babylon is as barren and desolate as Isaiah prophesied it should become. It is a dangerous task to reach it, and, when once there, one is surrounded by desolation.

Nineveh, famous in holy writ, was the chief city of Assyria, the northern of the three parts of Mesopotamia; here the most important discoveries during the last generation have been made. Nineveh was destroyed in 606 B. C., so that its latest monuments are not less than twenty-five centuries old. In the year 400 B. C., the Greeks marched over the place, and found a city, which Xenophon calls Larissa, but he makes no mention of the name Nineveh. The site seems to have been forgotten; nothing remained but mounds to represent the enormous erections of the great city. There was scarcely a mention of Nineveh from the time of the Roman Empire down to the last century. It is one of the most remarkable facts in history, that the city should have been so completely lost, its location a matter of doubt for ages. These huge mounds had never been examined till about 1820, when an Englishman, Mr. Rich, the political resident of the East India Company at Bagdad, made an examination by digging trenches through them. He did not discover much, but wrote a memoir about the site of Babylon. He returned by way of Mosul, on the Tigris, and his curiosity was excited by the great mounds opposite the town. He made a careful survey of the size and mutual relations of the mounds, and obtained

a few bricks marked with cuneiform characters, and some cylinders. These were almost all that were known at the time. In 1840 a new epoch of knowledge in regard to Assyria begins. Layard, a young Englishman travelling through Assyria, noticed the mounds, and determined to investigate them. He spoke to Botta, the consul, who, in 1843, began to investigate the very mound that lies opposite Mosul, the mound indicated as Coyundjic in Reber's plan of Nineveh. ("Ancient Art," page 61.) In 1845, Layard obtained permission from the Turkish government to excavate, and also money from England to carry on the work. He very soon found that there was an immense platform supporting what must have been a number of palaces, and in clearing away the earth from the chambers and halls, he discovered a great number of sculptures and other monuments of the ancient Assyrian empire. He discovered the bases of temples and towers as well as of palaces, and working year after year, found the plan and ornamentation of the works which had been the glory of Nineveh. Since that time discovery has steadily advanced. England and France have done more than Germany in the work, while America has done but little. An expedition sent out by the Archæological Institute, under Dr. Ward, made a very interesting report of the condition and aspect of the region, and of the great mass of remains still unexplored.

The results of the expedition of Layard and Botta, and of other discoveries, and the knowledge of the way to translate the cuneiform writing, have given us a very full acquaintance with the history of Nineveh and the Assyrian monarchy for many hundred years; and it is probable that we know as much about the Assyrians as they themselves knew. The very earliest name of an Assyrian king found in the records dates back to 1850 B. C. There had undoubtedly been a long period of civilization before this; but the connected history of Assyria does not begin till about 1400 B. C.

It was about the year 1300 B. C. that Nineveh was made the royal residence, and in 1271 B. C. the Assyrians con-

quered Babylon. In the years between 1120 and 1100 B. C. the Assyrian empire was the most powerful in the world, extending on the west to the Mediterranean, on the south to the Persian Gulf, and to an unknown distance on the east. It was probably in the seventh century B. C. that the Assyrian power reached its height, and from this time date its greatest works.

The palace of Kizr-Sargon at Corsabad (covering about twenty-five acres) was built between 722 and 705 B. C. (Reber's "Ancient Art," page 63.) It stood on a terrace above the general level of the city, and contained an immense number of apartments, which seem to be divided into three parts, one called the Seraglio, used for state occasions, another the Harem, or private apartments, and the third, the apartments of the dependants, or the Kahn, so called at the present day.

Nothing is more striking in the study of the Assyrian records than the fact that all we learn confirms our conception of an Eastern empire. One who has read the "Arabian Nights" has an idea of the government of an Eastern empire in the time of the Middle Ages. The irresponsible rule of the hierarchy of officers of state, the absence of political organization, and the indifference to individual interests are strongly marked. The tyrants were oppressive, the officers of the empire were cruel; and owing to the irregularity of taxes, and the absence of any written law to maintain the rights of the poor, there was a great lack of individual activity and energy. The general picture of the empire would be that of a vast number of inhabitants on a low, dead level, with a few officers, nobles rich and powerful, raised above the masses, and regarding them in the light of servants and slaves rather than as men with rights equal to their own.

The empire in Assyria was very like the present rule of Persia or of Turkey. Assyria, from the very earliest time down to the present, has preserved this striking aspect of despotism. This is due to a vast number of causes, one of which is the character of the religions that have prevailed in Asia.

These have been for the most part the Persian, the Assyrian, and the Mohammedan religion, all of which have many points of similarity. They all tend to produce a fatalistic state of mind, than which nothing can be more dangerous ; there is no deadlier doctrine than fatalism.

The great thing which Asia has contributed to the uplifting of mankind is the Christian religion, which has affected the whole world. Palestine, in Syria, gave the world the Christian religion, Arabia the Mohammedan religion ; both bear the impress of the Assyrian spirit. In other fields Asia has contributed scarcely anything to the advance of civilization. There are a few Persian and Arabian poets whose verses strike a new note in literature, but they come from the region on the edge of Asia, and not from the central districts where the despotism of the Persians, Arabs, and Turks has, for the most part, spread desolation.

The following letter is found in the conclusion of Layard's "Babylon and Nineveh, Second Expedition." It is a translation of a letter written by a Turkish Cadi to a friend of Layard's in reply to some inquiries as to the commerce, population, and remains of antiquity of an ancient city in which dwelt the head of the law. It shows "the spirit in which Eastern philosophy and Mussulman resignation contemplate the evidences of ancient greatness and civilization, suddenly rising up in the midst of modern ignorance and decay. It contains a very characteristic picture of the feelings that such an event excites in the mind of a good Mohammedan."

My Illustrious Friend, and Joy of my Liver!

The thing you ask of me is both difficult and useless. Although I have passed all my days in this place, I have neither counted the houses nor have I inquired into the number of the inhabitants ; and as to what one person loads on his mules and the other stows away in the bottom of his ship, that is no business of mine. But, above all, as to the previous history of this city, God only knows the amount of dirt and confusion that the infidels may have eaten before the coming of the Sword of Islam. It were unprofitable for us to inquire into it.

Oh, my soul! oh, my lamb! Seek not after the things which concern thee not. Thou camest unto us, and we welcomed thee: go in peace.

Of a truth thou hast spoken many words; and there is no harm done, for the speaker is one and the listener is another. After the fashion of thy people thou hast wandered from one place to another, until thou art happy and content in none. We (praise be to God) were born here, and never desire to quit it. Is it possible, then, that the idea of a general intercourse between mankind should make any impression on our understandings? God forbid!

Listen, oh, my son! There is no wisdom equal unto the belief in God! He created the world, and shall we liken ourselves unto him in seeking to penetrate into the mysteries of his creation? Shall we say, Behold this star spinneth round that star, and that this other star with a tail goeth and cometh in so many years! Let it go! He from whose hand it came will guide and direct it.

But thou wilt say unto me, Stand aside, oh, man, for I am more learned than thou art, and have seen more things. If thou thinkest that thou art in this respect better than I am, thou art welcome. I praise God that I seek not that which I require not. Thou art learned in the things I care not for; and as for that which thou hast seen, I defile it. Will much knowledge create thee a double belly, or wilt thou seek Paradise with thine eyes?

Oh, my friend, if thou wilt be happy, say, there is no god but God. Do no evil, and thus wilt thou fear neither man nor death; for surely thine hour will come!

The meek in spirit (El Fakir),

IMAUM ALI ZADE.

All the systems of cuneiform writing seem to have been derived from the early inhabitants of Chaldæa, whose origin is uncertain. Like the Latin language, which, after the fall of the Roman Empire, served for the formation of the Romance languages, this served for the foundation of the systems of Babylonia, Media, and Persia, each varying from the others by differences of the mixture of roots. The writing was apparently hieroglyphic at first, and by a slow process was changed into the cuneiform. One of the early Persian signs for God was a star with eight rays. This was practically a hieroglyph, expressing an idea, and many of the original cuneiform signs were of this nature, ideographic. Now, these

signs gradually changed, and this eight-rayed star was gradually reduced till it was made by three strokes; this had a phonetic significance, and was pronounced An. Now, when it stood alone it might represent the word "God," or the syllable "An" in words having no connection with the idea of God. This sign was adopted by other races to represent the word "God"; but in the later cuneiform writing the phonetic value of the symbol was altered. Thus, what in early times had the value of An had in later times the phonetic value represented by Ilu; that is, the name of God in the Assyrian language was Ilu; but at the same time it retained the phonetic value of An. This is what is called polyphony, — one sign with many values, — and is found in all the various forms of cuneiform writing. A single sign has a great many phonetic values and many significations; for example, a sign made with two wedge-shaped characters, with their sharp points end to end, apparently meant originally "to end" or "to close." This sign has a vast number of derivative meanings, as "to die, to grow old, a corpse, blood," and for each meaning it has a different phonetic value. The difficulty in reading such a language was experienced by the Assyrians themselves, and so we find in the Assyrian literature a vast number of inscribed tablets, which correspond in some degree to our dictionaries; these are called Syllabaries.

The cuneiform system is, perhaps, the most complex one ever employed for the expression of thought in writing. This system had a very wide diffusion and a very long duration. The earliest cuneiform inscription, that is known, dates between 1000 and 2000 B. C., perhaps, 1400 or 1500 B. C.; and the latest one known bears the name of King Pacorus, who reigned between 77 and 110 A. D. We can hardly say which was the greater achievement of scholarship, the deciphering of the Egyptian hieroglyphs or of the cuneiform writing.

The first real attempt to decipher the cuneiform writing was made in 1768. The key to the earlier forms was not found till Rawlinson's discovery of the Inscription of Behistun in

1845 ; so it is only since about 1850 that any real translation of the Assyrian and Babylonian cuneiform language has been possible. In the first volume of "The Records of the Past" is a very interesting story of the discovery of this inscription, which was written in the Persian, Scythic, and Semitic languages. About the same time, Layard, in his excavations at the Palace of Coyundjic, came upon a great collection of writings containing the great mass of Assyrian literature now known. At present, the British Museum, and other collections in Europe, contain thousands of tablets from what may be called the Library of the Palace of Coyundjic. This number has been much increased by discoveries made elsewhere, so that we now have an enormous body of writings relating particularly to the Assyrian kingdom. Among these inscriptions are the public records, many of which were written on the ornamental work with which the palaces were adorned. The greater part of the history, however, is obtained from the private records.

We now know about as much of the history of the Assyrians from 1400 B. C. as about the history of the Egyptians, and we have learned a great deal about the habits, beliefs, practices, and business life of the people. Many interesting results have been obtained, but very little of any literary value. The complexity of the language had its effect on the expression of thought, for it is on the facility of expression that the progress and character of thought largely depend.

The same difficulty in the expression of thought limits the expression of the emotions and sentiments ; and when men find difficulty in expressing themselves through language, they are apt to try other forms of expression in the fine arts ; and in sculpture and painting, as well as in all modes of expression among the Assyrians, we find the same limited range of ideas. It is to be noted that this difficulty affected their moral character as well as their intellectual ; that the sympathies and affections are in general limited by the inability to express easily what a man feels.

The Chaldæans and Assyrians all seem to have belonged to the stage of preparation; there is nothing like continuous rational development in their civilization.

The Palace of Coyundjic, in which the larger part of the records were kept, was a great building on the plateau of Nineveh. This artificial plateau, designed to raise the chief edifices above the surrounding ground, was built between 668 and 626 B. C., by the king called Assur-bani-pal. There is a very interesting translation in "The Records of the Past" (Vol. III., pp. 119, 120) of an inscription found on an hexagonal prism of baked clay, found near Nineveh in the mound of Nebbi Yunus (Prophet Jonah). This inscription gives an idea of the sort of labor and materials used in the building of the Palace of Coyundjic itself; it is now to be found in the British Museum. From no inscription that has been preserved do we get so good an idea of the religious conceptions of the Assyrians. The palace which Assur-bani-pal constructed was one of the noblest and finest of the Assyrian erections.

We must imagine the walls of the palace of baked clay, and around the base a sheathing of alabaster or limestone, on which were carved in bas-relief representations of banquets, or scenes of hunting and war. Above the sheath of alabaster were other coverings of the wall, some of marble blocks beautifully arranged; some of them had the wedge shape of the cuneiform character, the pointed end of the blocks being driven into the wall, forming elaborate patterns. If this method of ornamentation was not adopted, the walls were hung with tapestry. When, after a long period of years, the ceiling of the palace gave way, the mass of the upper portion fell in and filled the halls, thus protecting the stone slabs on which is the most beautiful part of Assyrian art.

Now, at Coyundjic, Assur-bani-pal, a great builder, collected an enormous number of inscribed tablets. This collection had been begun as early as 750 B. C., and was increased by successive kings till the time of Assur-bani-pal, who made

great additions to the collection. Among these tablets there are a considerable number of records of the deeds of the kings, and copies of the royal inscriptions from the walls of the palace. There were treaties with other powers, a great number of royal letters, even down to private notes, giving an idea of how the Assyrians carried on their clay note-paper correspondence; maps of countries, towns, rivers, and mountains, giving the condition of geographical science; also treatises on astronomy, with records of eclipses, tablets giving the laws and decrees of the courts, lists giving the tribute of the various states under the control of the Assyrians; also accounts of property that could be taxed in the different cities, even the census of their population, — all this and much more is found on these tablets. Some of the tablets contain the myths, the legends, and the theology of the people. Of all the myths the most noticeable one is about the Deluge, which excited great interest when brought to England. There is great similarity between this account and the one given in the Bible, which shows that both legends were undoubtedly derived from the same or similar sources. The theological portion of these tablets is of great interest, giving knowledge in regard to the prayers and rites which were performed in honor of the gods. There were tablets on natural history also: indeed, almost every department of human knowledge is referred to in these inscriptions.

It seems fair to assume that a power which influenced or affected the whole earth must have had some great qualities in it. It is quite natural to ask why, if the Assyrians were so far superior to their contemporaries, they did not make a still greater and more significant advance in civilization. One of the main reasons for their lack of progress is in the fact that there was no competition among the races; that there was no history, no standard with which they might compare themselves. Most of our progress depends upon the collision of ideas between men. One of the hopeful things in the American civilization at the present time is the

great diversity of opinion about matters of small concern ; it indicates a certain alertness of the intelligence. Among the Asiatic races we find nothing of the sort. However, some of the ancient nations, as the Egyptians and Hebrews, came into possession of certain important ideas, which have affected not only the whole character of the nation, but which have been of great importance in the later development of mankind. Their religious and political institutions all indicate their belief in the regularity and permanence of law and order in the state to which they belonged.

Then much later, and under different conditions, the Hebrews developed to a greater extent than any other race the principle of order founded on a conception of right. Righteousness expressed in conduct was the ideal of the Hebrew, the attainment of which was the aim and inspiration of all his endeavors. On the other hand, the Assyrians do not appear to have had any higher ideal than the Persians of to-day, so that their civilization seems to stand isolated from the rest of the world. Because they said nothing significant, the world has swept by and left them to oblivion.

Not only did the material power of Assyria and of Mesopotamia cease with the destruction of Nineveh, but its intellectual and spiritual relations with the rest of the world, and so all interest felt in Assyria by other nations, — an interest which is not likely to be renewed even by a discovery of its history.

Suppose the power of the various governments of Europe to disappear, what they have done for civilization would live on, if every monument of their work were to disappear. They have succeeded in expressing certain ideas that have a permanent value ; they have succeeded in deducing from the experience of the past certain conclusions which will be as important ages hence as now, for they are based on human nature. But suppose America were wiped out. We have added nothing to the stock of ideas likely to be of permanent value to mankind, except the embodiment of certain moral

and social conditions in civil order. It is certain, however, that we have done an enormous service to the world in showing that, under favorable conditions, men can live together on a basis of civil equality, without divisions of rank and class. How long the principles of equality in civil and political life can be carried on is the question which the next generation must solve. But if we speak of the development of the mind, of the elevation of the spiritual life of mankind, it is doubtful if we have added any more than the Assyrians did.

Although the Assyrians left nothing of permanent value to man, yet their influence was not without its bearings on the later civilizations, especially on the Greeks. Assyrian architecture disappeared with the Assyrian empire, and it was well that it did. The use of so base a material as clay for the main construction of their buildings was sufficient in itself to prevent any architectural development which would be useful to other nations, under different conditions. There was no development of an architectural style, that is, of thought exquisitely expressed in the forms of architecture.

There was great ingenuity in the use of the materials which the Mesopotamians possessed. The lack of stone and of timber in the southern part of the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates compelled the people to use brick. Then when the Assyrians came to employ stone in their erections, they used it in the same manner as brick. Not far from Nineveh is an abundance of calcareous rock, the best of which is very much like alabaster, which was largely employed for the floor of the platform and for the base of the building, but was never used for the development of what might be called an architectural style.

The outer walls of the palace were sometimes seventy-five feet thick. There is nothing extravagant in the statement of Herodotus when he describes the walls as so wide that on the top two chariots could be driven, side by side. The walls had wide buttresses, so that their entire width was

often one hundred feet. The height ranged from twenty to seventy feet. If the walls were faced with stone, the stone was laid without mortar. When bricks were used, they were laid with bitumen.

To secure a certain ventilation of the walls they were often built with layers of reeds, at different distances ; but of greater importance were clefts left for air passages, and very skilfully constructed drains to carry off the surface water. These conduits were made of tubular tiles very like our own ; they had collars like those used at the present time, and were made to fit each other very closely. Some of the drains were arch-shaped ; indeed, the use of the arch by the Assyrians in their drains and sewers was very ingenious. Besides using the arch in underground constructions, they used it in their gateways, even in walls one hundred feet thick.

The inner walls of the great palaces seem to have been from eight to ten feet thick, and were often thicker than the breadth of the apartment itself. There have not been found any single rooms of which the walls are complete, so it is impossible to tell the exact height of the rooms, but they were certainly not high. The ceilings were made of timbers which seem to have been supported by rows of columns. The light was all admitted from above, apparently through what might be called a clear-story. The covering by which the room was protected from the rain was probably of tapestry or cloth ; no shutters have been discovered. The doors were of great size, and very heavy, swung on metal hinges, and with stone lintels. The only beauty in the buildings was in the carving or coloring on the walls ; the carving in marble and stone is very impressive. Undoubtedly the Assyrians were the masters of the art of tapestry, — beautiful hangings, in which their love of color naturally found its full scope. The walls also were covered with mosaics, blocks painted and glazed so that they could be set in the walls.

The enormous size of the buildings is striking ; the Palace of Corsabad occupied over twenty-five acres. An Assyrian

city must have looked low, for the only buildings of great height were built for astronomical purposes. We are told that the observatory of Corsabad was seven stories in height, each story retreating in size, and from nineteen to twenty feet in height. The whole building was, therefore, about one hundred and forty feet high, and the separate stories were of different colors.

It is difficult to say how far the life of the Assyrians was affected by their religion. They were an aggressive and commercial people that traded in the seventh century B. C. from India to Spain; hence they must have accumulated a vast amount of wealth. At the height of its glory, Nineveh must have been a great place to see; there was in its buildings a great display of color, and throughout the city a very busy and animated life; but nothing which has been found among their remains leads to the conclusion that their imagination ever took a poetic turn.

Their religion was not of a high spiritual character, although they were of the same stock as the early Semitic people, and inherited ideas similar to those of the Hebrews. The name of their chief god was Asshur, which means "he who created himself," the same as the Hebrew, "The Eternal."

The study of the races which have contributed but little to civilization is of secondary importance. The history of their arts, never carried to any high expression, and the story of their successes and failures, although entertaining, have nothing of deep and permanent interest compared with the history of those races which have succeeded in expressing the highest that man has attained. To the Assyrians we owe but very little. But between Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean Sea was a comparatively wide track, providing sufficient crops for the support of a tolerably dense population, in which there seems to have been a considerable development of civilization. But very little is known at present in regard to the history of the races that occupied this region, though discoveries have been made which point to the exist-

ence of a race called the Hittites. A great many monuments have been found and grouped together by the general characteristics of those of the upper region of the Euphrates. But nothing certain is known about the people; their name is only another added to the list of forgotten races. Undoubtedly many other races have risen and flourished, regarded themselves as powerful, and thought they were a lasting nation; and yet they have passed away like the leaves that represented to Homer the generations of men.

But along the coast of Syria a tribe made a settlement of more importance to mankind than all the others in that part of the world. This people belonged to the nation spoken of in the Bible as the Canaanites. As far as we can trace their origin, they had come from a settlement on the Persian Gulf, and about 2500 B. C. had migrated westward. This people was called in later times by the Greek name Phœnician. This name perhaps originated from an old word that the Canaanites used to designate their own nation, Phoun, found in the Greek Phœni, and the Latin Puni. Here on the coast of Syria this people built the famous city of Sidon, which for its time was the great trading centre of the world. For many centuries the Phœnicians were the only navigators of the Mediterranean, and this fact gave them their great distinction.

The great part of prehistoric time belongs to what has been called the age of Stone. Then, in some parts of the world, after the age of Stone, or contemporaneous with it, was the age of Iron; and continuous with the age of Iron, all over Europe and a great part of Asia and Northern Africa, we find the remains of an age of Bronze. These were all prehistoric. Now, what does this age of Bronze signify? It means an age of commerce, a distinct advance in the powers of the race by whom bronze was used; for bronze is a composite metal made up of tin and copper, and the sources from which tin is supplied are very few. The only sources known to the ancients were the tin mines of Spain and of Cornwall, and some less important mines in the Caucasus Mountains and in India.

Bronze was cast in very many places in Europe, — a fact which indicates that tin was secured from these distant places and brought to the bronze foundries.

Of all the traders in bronze the Phœnicians seem to have been the most advanced, because their vessels coasted along the Mediterranean as far as Spain, and it is not unlikely that they went even to Britain. But to obtain this tin they must have carried with them articles of trade, probably bronze, and these were articles of an advanced civilization compared to those of the barbaric races of Europe. The Phœnicians also trafficked by caravan throughout all Asia, and found easy profit in carrying westward the goods brought from the East. The splendid hangings of Assyria were far ahead of the rough rugs woven by the people of Italy and Sicily. The unrivalled metal work of Assyria and Egypt was far beyond the power of the barbaric races of Europe to imitate. All the precious woods, all the articles of refinement and higher culture, came from Asia, and as early as 2000 B. C. the Phœnician navigators from the city of Sidon went coasting along the Mediterranean. This trade was very profitable, and Sidon became the most splendid city, as far as commerce was concerned, that the world knew at that time.

After Sidon had enjoyed eight or nine hundred years of pre-eminence, — an enormous time, — the seat of power was transferred to Tyre; for about 1200 B. C. Sidon became involved in a war with one of the wild tribes of this region, the Philistines, who sacked and burned the city. The Tyrians became famous for the magnificence of their work of all kinds, and especially their metal work. Their embroideries and tapestries were very likely not their own, but imported from the East. They were famous for their dyes, the most popular of which was the Tyrian purple, obtained from a shell-fish found along the coast. Among other articles of Tyrian commerce were bronze, glass, pottery, and cloths of all kinds. The Phœnicians now began to send out colonies, and about 872 B. C. founded their most famous city,

Carthage. For a considerable time Tyre and Carthage assisted each other, but one hundred and seventy years after the founding of Carthage, Tyre was conquered by an Assyrian king, and lost its independence. Then came the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B. C., and the period of the captivity of the Jews in Babylon. Never did any other city occupy the position held by Tyre and Sidon from 2000 B. C. to 600 B. C.; never did any other city secure the whole commerce of the Mediterranean. Civilization was henceforth to become more distributed, and the interests of the world more divided.

These people, who did so much in distributing the products of Asia along the coast of the Mediterranean, were, however, mere middle-men; their art is the art of a people who had no originality, for they adopted the forms and styles of the nations that supplied them with materials for commerce. They were as ready to take from the Assyrians or the Egyptians the fashion of their goods as New York is to copy Paris. They even adopted the symbols, the architectural forms, and the costumes of the greater races that preceded them. There is no splendor of design in their temples, no interest in their tombs or their religion; they had no intellectual life of a higher kind. Though life in their cities was splendid and luxuriant, we have no particular interest in them and no motive, except curiosity, for studying their civilization. But let us go back a little.

Contemporaneously with the Phoenicians another maritime race made its appearance upon the Mediterranean,—the Pelasgi,—a race which occupied the greater part of Italy and Greece with their adjacent islands, and the northern part of Asia Minor. Their monuments, in the shape of walls, show that they had enormous settlements with millions of people. They belonged to the same branch of the human race as did the Greeks and the Italians, their successors, and probably migrated a little earlier than the Greeks from that unknown starting-point of the Aryan race in Asia.

The Pelasgi were the breakers of the wilderness, the blazers of the path along which the Italian and Greek tribes were to travel; and as their successors came, the Pelasgi were gradually driven out of the land, or conquered and made slaves.

But about 1500 B. C., the Pelasgi occupied Italy and Greece, and sent their vessels out to sea, giving rise to the early Greek legends of naval expeditions, as the myth of the Argo and the Golden Fleece; thus they came into relations with the Phœnicians. Then at some very early time there was a settlement of the Phœnicians in Greece proper, of which the record is preserved in the history of Cadmus at Thebes; and these wars of the Thebans are to be explained as the attempt, on the part of the Greek nation proper, to expel the foreigners who had settled there; they were the beginning of a very long struggle of the Greeks to secure their independence from Asia,—a struggle which did not cease till the defeat of Xerxes at Salamis.

We owe a great debt to the Greeks for their heroic struggle against these invaders. We have escaped being crushed by the weight of an Asiatic despotism; but do we not owe something to Asia? We owe to Asia indirectly and to the Phœnicians directly the invention of the alphabet, by far the most important instrument of civilization, because it enables men of all languages to communicate easily with one another. The history of the alphabet cannot be traced exactly, but it was somewhat as follows: The Egyptians had found the hieroglyphic system difficult and unsatisfactory, and had brought it into a current form very different from the old hieroglyphic inscriptions, but based upon them. The cuneiform language was also very cumbersome, and had to be reduced to a certain current script. Now, the Phœnicians, in their extensive trade, were coming into relation with all sorts of races, and needed the means by which records could be preserved. By a magnificent effort of ingenuity, a number of signs were gradually shaped into script and made to indicate

sounds, so that to all the Phœnicians a certain sign would always represent the same sound, and these signs could be used, like figures, in all sorts of combinations. The Phœnicians had twenty-four signs of sounds which could be applied to any language and made intelligible with a little study. Thus, the foreigner was able to learn the signs which stood for "Sidon," together with the sounds of the letters, and in this way the alphabet was formed. According to tradition, it was Cadmus who introduced this great invention into Greece, where it was extensively used. The Greek alphabet is the Phœnician with very slight additions and changes, and from this Greek alphabet dates modern and progressive civilization.

The Phœnicians, though sharp traders, were a race that lacked all the finer qualities of the mind. We think the Jews are keen, but the Phœnicians were sharper than the Jews. They were superstitious and cruel, with no national life and no literature; yet as middle-men they helped on civilization by supplying all Europe with the finer articles of commerce. Though they were mere traders, yet they gave to posterity the alphabet, the most important gift that any race could bestow, for without it we may believe that modern civilization would have been practically impossible.

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CHAPTER IV.

GREECE.

WE do not readily feel our debt to ancient races which have passed from active life and left nothing but monuments of their efforts, whose influence on us to-day has come down through channels which they did not foresee or prepare. But when we enter on the history of the Greeks, we come into relation with our own family, with a race whose influence is still active to-day. When the Greeks came on the stage of history, the time seems to have been ripe for a new development of man; there had been races before, but the individual man had not been strong enough for individual life.

The Greek was the first of mankind to attain to real manhood. Matthew Arnold, in his striking book on "God and the Bible," says, under the head of the "God of Experience": "Man and his history begin, we say, when he becomes distinctly conscious of feelings which, in a long preparatory period of obscure growth, he may have been forming. Then he calls his habit, acquired by a process which he does not recollect, nature; and he gives effect to it in fixed customs, rules, laws, and institutions. His religion consists in acknowledging and reverencing the awful sanctions with which this right way for man has, he believes, been invested by the mighty not-ourselves which surrounds us." Now, although the races before the Greeks became more or less conscious of the feelings developed from a long preparatory period, and had embodied their feelings and the thoughts connected with them in institutions, they had not succeeded in giving to their moral and intellectual life such form as to serve the needs of mankind, as it became endowed with the

faculties which secure a steady advance in the civilization of the race.

The Greeks took up the advancement of mankind with such natural vigor that they were able to break through the barriers which had previously prevented man from obtaining the complete development of his faculties. The Greeks had the great advantage in being the inheritors of the acquisitions of Egypt and the East ; but had they not been especially endowed, they could not have made such good use of it as they did. With the Greeks modern history begins. The Greeks were the first to become capable of genuine society. They recognized, though at first but dimly, a social order of mutual obligation, of individual rights and therefore of individual duties, for right and duty are correlative terms. If a man possesses a right, a duty accompanies it.

There is nothing more striking in the history of mankind than the magnificent entrance of the Greek upon the stage of human experience. He seems to enter on the field of life like a youth prepared for the struggle ; he advances confident, bold, fresh, certain of victory through his sense of strength and uprightness. The Greek starts forward, not as an animal, but as an intelligent being ready to meet and overcome every obstacle. There is nothing so delightful in the whole history of man as this fresh vigor of the Greek, unchecked by sad experience.

Those who have had the good fortune to read Lucretius may remember the magnificent passage near the opening of the poem, in which he speaks of the Greeks : "Primum Graius homo." "The Greek was the first of men who dared to lift his eyes against the gods." This passage in the "Rerum Natura" of Lucretius (verses 63-80) is thus translated by John Mason Good : —

"Not thus mankind. Them long the tyrant power
Of superstition sway'd, uplifting proud
Her head to heaven, and with horrific limbs
Brooding o'er earth ; till he, the Man of Greece,

Auspicious rose, who first the combat dared,
 And broke in twain the monster's iron rod.
 No thunder him, no fell revenge pursued
 Of heaven incensed, or deities in arms.
 Urged rather hence with more determined soul,
 To thrust through Nature's portals from the crowd
 With jealous caution closed, the flaming walls
 Of heaven to scale and dart his dauntless eye,
 Till the vast whole beneath him stood displayed.
 Hence taught he us, triumphant, what might spring,
 And what forbear ; what powers inherent lurk,
 And where their bounds and issues. And, hence, we
 Triumphant, too, o'er superstition rise,
 Contemn her terrors and unfold the heavens."

These phrases of Lucretius are no mere fancies ; they represent the real thing. The Greek showed from the very beginning this "*vivida vis animi*."

In one of the letters given in the interesting "*Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*," by Sir George Trevelyan, Macaulay writes : "Oh, that wonderful people ! There is not one art, not one science, about which we may not use the same expression which Lucretius has employed about the victory over superstition, — '*Primum Graius homo*.'"

This may seem to us an exaggeration, the statement that there was not an art in which the Greeks were not the first ; but it is the literal truth, for all the fields of knowledge that have been occupied since the time of the Greeks have only been extensions of those which the Greeks first entered.

Sir Henry Maine, in a lecture delivered at Oxford on the relation of India to modern European thought, says : "There has been no movement in this world which is not Greek in its origin."

It would be easy to multiply the recognition of the Greeks by men of each later generation who have found their masters in this ancient people.

M. le Duc, in his book on architecture, says : "The Greeks are always our masters in everything."

Shelley, in a striking essay on the manners of the ancients,

says : "What the Greeks were was a reality, not a promise. And what we are, and hope to be, is derived, as it were, from the influence and inspiration of these glorious generations."

There is a curious book published by Mr. Golton on "Hereditary Genius," a study of those qualities which we call genius, and the modes in which it is exhibited and inherited. He makes a scale of the intellectual powers of different races, as exhibited in their work. He says of the Athenian race : "The average ability of the Athenian race was about two grades above our own, — about as much as we are above the African negro."

Whether we allow this or not, we are obliged to admit the facts which he brings together, and believe that the average ability of the Athenian race was very much higher than our own.

Now, considering that very much of our civilization is immediately derived from the Greek ; considering that the aim of every literary man is to make his work correspond in principle to the doctrines that the Greeks laid down ; considering that the vast system of education which properly has the title of culture is mostly occupied with Grecian study, and that the Greeks were the representatives of the culture most precious to us to-day, — it is certainly of the very first importance that we should know what we can about this race, and should endeavor individually to rise a little nearer to them. In the preface to his poem, "Hellas," Shelley exclaims :—

"We are all Greeks. Our laws, our literature, our religion, our arts have their root in Greece. But for Greece, Rome, the instructor, the conqueror, the metropolis of our ancestors, would have spread no illumination with her arms, and we might still have been savages and idolaters, or, what is worse, might have arrived at such a stagnant and miserable state of social institution as China and Japan possess. The human form and the human mind attained to a perfection in

Greece which has impressed its image on those faultless productions, whose very fragments are the despair of modern art, and has propagated impulses which cannot cease, through a thousand channels of manifest or imperceptible operation, to ennoble and delight mankind until the extinction of the race."

If some are still sceptical, perhaps the testimony of one of the coolest and soundest of English thinkers may convince them. In John Stuart Mill's essay on the earlier volumes of Grote's "History of Greece," he says: "The interest in Greecian history is inexhaustible. They first questioned nature by their natural faculties."

The political history of the Greeks is hardly to be understood without a knowledge of their monuments; and this study is, on the whole, the most important in which a cultured man can engage, because it shows the most intelligent of races at its best. A man who becomes thoroughly imbued with a sense of the beauty of the Greek work, and of the power which it indicates, will live forever with a noble discontent, inciting him to improve himself and the generation to which he belongs,—a discontent which will keep him from that foolish, spread-eagle, Fourth-of-July optimism which characterizes the American people in general.

The Greeks are likely to remain our superiors and teachers as long as we live. In the *Spectator* of Nov. 10, 1888, there is a striking article on Prof. Wilkins's "Essay on Classical Studies." The editor quotes from Prof. Wilkins's lecture:—

"Four words, above all others, come home to the heart of civilized man; these are beauty, freedom, truth, and goodness. And it is literally accurate to say of three out of the four that the passion for them was first awakened in Greece. The Greeks were the first who, impelled by the love of beauty, never rested till the rude and clumsy attempts to produce it, inherited by them from races who started earlier in the pathway of civilization, were transformed into those ideal forms which have been the standard, rarely attained to and never

surpassed, among all successive generations. They were the first who, inspired by the love of freedom, cast off the yoke of despots and of oligarchs, and lived in communities, not of lawless anarchy, but of freemen, yielding a ready obedience to the laws to which they had given a voluntary and convinced allegiance. 'They were the first who, urged by a passion for reasoned truth, ventured to meet the traditions of the elders, or the dogmas of priestcraft, with a demand for the proofs which should justify and claim their faith. And if, in the region of goodness, intellectual curiosity at times proved too strong for the primary intuitions of the heart, and allowed itself to tamper perilously with the springs of conduct, this was not wholly for evil. It was needful for moral progress that the foundations of righteousness should be tested, and that obedience to its laws should come no longer from the unreasoning docility of children, but from the deliberate convictions of intellectual manhood. It is true, as M. Renan puts it, 'there was one great lack in the morality of Greece; she despised the humble, and felt no need of a God of justice.'"

That the Greeks despised the humble is perhaps to be admitted. The sense of the brotherhood and equality of man is a new thing in the world, due very largely to the influence of Christ. Plato, it is true, attained the conception of love, but did not give it the place it occupies in the Christian world. It is a striking error, however, to assert that "the Greeks felt no need of a God of justice." The conception that all conduct carries with it certain inevitable consequences that are just, and that give moral order to the universe, underlies the greatest and most characteristic of all Greek expressions, especially those of *Æschylus* and *Sophocles*. Take, for example, the "*Agamemnon*" of *Æschylus*; the fundamental conception of this play was that, however long the evil deeds of men might remain unpunished, yet pursuing them and their descendants was an inflexible being bent upon justice. This conception lies

behind the whole Greek theology ; the Greeks believed that Zeus even was under the control of an irresistible fate.

The editor of the *Spectator* continues in his comments on Prof. Wilkins's lecture : "The greater the sculptor, or the architect, or the thinker, the more he appreciates Greek work." Other art may be as noble or as beautiful, but there is nothing like the art of Greece to invigorate the very springs of the mind.

The *Spectator* concludes :

"The most dominant and least susceptible class that ever appeared on the earth, men with whom ruling was a faculty and conquest a satisfying delight, the Roman patricians, overthrew Greece in a campaign ; and then, through all the centuries during which they lasted, were mastered by the intelligence of the Greeks, and finally were content to reign for a few centuries, more as Greeks than themselves. . . . Then, once again, Greece fell, fell finally, and as she fell, the shattered morsels of her thought were scattered accidentally, we should say, but that there is no accident, over a Europe still half-barbarian ; and as they fell, there arose from the mere contact with them a new world, and the iron-clad brutes of the Middle Ages became capable of development into the leaders of the modern world. What, it has been said, would Europe have been without Marathon ? What, we may add, would it have been without the fall of Constantine's city, that columbarium wherein was stored the ashes of dead Greek thought ?"

It is therefore important for us to understand the history of this race which for two hundred years did more for civilization than all the other races have done in the two thousand years since.

The land, like the race, is one of the most remarkable on the face of the earth. The geography and climate of a country often have a considerable influence in determining the character of the people. The cosmical characteristics of New England have had a marked influence in shaping the New-

Englander. Therefore, it is worth while to consider, what the land was in which this remarkable race developed itself. Looking at it on the map, certain general characteristics are at once intelligible. It is but a small territory; Greece proper runs from the Ambracian Gulf, with a somewhat varying line, to the Malian Gulf, below which is the region of Hellas. The great region to the north and west was occupied by mountainous tribes, who never shared in the intellectual progress of the Greeks; while the region on the east was possessed by a race similar to the Greeks, but who, like the former, always remained laggards in civilization.

Now, taking this little southern piece of land as the proper seat of the Hellenic race, we see one noticeable feature, — that its coast line is more broken than that of any other part of the world. The Corinthian Gulf almost divides the Peloponnesus from the northern part. The Peloponnesus itself is marked by the size of the gulfs which penetrate it. Attica runs out far into the sea, and from Attica islands extend, like the stepping-stones of a ford, to Asia Minor.

Another feature about Greece is that it fronts east, and not west. There are no islands on the western side; no promontories like Attica, Argos, and Laconia. Moreover, there is not a single good port on the western side, excepting Pylos, with the island of Sphacteria for a barrier at its mouth.

Now, the significance of all this was very great in the development of the Greeks. All the early civilization of man lay to the east and south. To the eastward of Greece lay the stepping-stones over which civilization would come, and here were the ports and harbors in which it was received. Hence, the western part of Greece became of little importance, while the eastern portion was crowded with history.

Now, there is one other feature: Greece is divided, naturally, into various districts, as Bœotia, Attica, Corinth, Argolis, Laconia, etc. There is an analogy in these divisions to our own states, each presenting its own peculiarities.

The extent of the Grecian seacoast is extraordinary. If

we draw a line around the coast of Greece, entering the various gulfs and bays, the distance is about seventy-three hundred miles. This had a very important effect upon the occupations of the people, and hence on their character. The relation of the seacoast to the land is quite striking when we see that from the most northern to the extreme southern end of Greece the distance is only about two hundred and fifty miles, and from east to west, in its widest part, Greece is only about one hundred and eighty miles wide.

It was very natural, then, that the history of Greece began on the sea. It has happened that all the nations which have done much to advance civilization, all which have developed a strong national character, have had large dealings with the sea; first, the Greeks and the Romans, then the English and Dutch, and finally the New-Englanders. When Tacitus, in his interesting life of Agricola, speaks of Great Britain, he points out that almost nowhere else does the sea so enter into and dominate the land as there.

The mountains of Greece also had their part in shaping the character of the people. A range of mountains like the Alps formed an impassable barrier to early man; but the mountains of Greece did not interfere with those relations which bring men into tolerably familiar intercourse, while they did form lines of demarcation for the development of different characteristics. Greece was more rapid and vigorous in her growth than other countries, because in the competition of men of somewhat different traits of character lies the secret of advancement. Few countries are as divided by mountains as Greece. Hellas proper is separated from the north by what was called the Thracian Hæmus, which runs irregularly from west to east from the Adriatic to the Euxine. Then south of this chain of mountains lay the Pindus Mountains, and connected with them the chain of which Olympus was one of the main heights, the chain called the Cambunian Mountains; these last two formed an inner line of defence. The great mountain range running

north and south, intersecting the former ranges, and forming the backbone of Greece, is the Pindus, forming the boundary line between Thessaly and Epirus. Toward the east are Parnassus, Helicon, and Cithæron, and Laurium on the point of Sunaum, the last of the Pindus chain. Nowhere except at the north did the mountains rise high enough to hinder passage. Parnassus, one of the highest, is only about eight thousand feet in height.

The mountains determined, in large measure, the climate of the country. Where the land is sheltered, Greece has almost a tropical vegetation. There were valleys sheltering the olive, the myrtle, even the palm and the fig-tree. Close beside these valleys rose mountains, and on their fertile sides were all the plants of the temperate zone, so that one might see in sight of each other groves of olive and forests of chestnut, maple, and oak, and farther up the mountain-side pines, growing even on the very summits. The soil, made rich by the washings from the mountains, was very fertile, and produced without difficulty abundant crops. So there was an unusual variety of productions in Greece, and this gave opportunity for very diversified industries. Now, variety of occupation is one of the elements of prosperity, for it leads to variety of ideas and habits, and on the variety of the mind depends human advancement.

There was a division in the Athenian people brought out sharply by the political differences that arose between the portion that derived their living from the sea and the more cultured people of the plain of Attica in the interior. This point is to be clearly noticed, because upon the variety of interests and occupations among the Greeks depended the brightness of the Greek intelligence. There was no opportunity given to the Greeks to sink to a dead uniformity, owing to similarity of habits. But while the variety of occupation and interest did much to advance Greece, this very variety and difference prevented the Greeks, during the comparatively short period of their life, from attaining a true

national unity, and this was one of the great causes of the final decline and fall of their empire. They were never united into a nation, but lived as separate branches of one great people. The tendency for local differences was too strong to be overcome by the tendency toward national unity. The same fact explains both their success and their failure.

But there were other characteristics of the land not less important in determining the character of the race that inhabited it. The most marked of these was its beauty. Mountain and sea are the two great elements of beauty in the natural landscape, and where they are combined as in Greece with great variety of line and arrangement, where the sea interpenetrates the land and conjoins with it in producing the effect, there can be no scenes of natural beauty more exquisite. Then, more than its outward aspect was the friendliness of nature to man. True, mountain torrents at times became uncontrollable, sweeping down and sometimes devastating fields, and leaving debris and barrenness where before had been a soil capable of culture; but the Greeks were free from what we call convulsions of nature. Earthquakes were rare; there were no volcanoes; the seasons were more than ordinarily regular, and the atmosphere was among the finest in the world. As the result of the combination of mountain and sea the climate, with the exception of small marshy districts, was everywhere healthful; it did not occasion plagues or pestilence. The effect on the Greek race was very great, for the beauty and healthfulness of the land gave them a cheerful disposition.

In Greece there are no exhaustive, continuous heats, so that the people lived naturally out of doors. Hence they came to be fond of nature, and, so far as we know, they were the first of men to recognize the close relation between the aspects of nature and the moods of the human mind.

While the character of the natural landscape had such an effect on the temperament and thoughts of the race, it had

a very marked influence on the culture of the people as well. The keenness of their senses was greatly increased ; for any man who lives out of doors finds that his senses become keener. With the Greeks this keenness of vision extended from the natural objects of nature to the observation of man himself. This clear-sightedness was one of the elementary conditions of their extraordinary development in art, and gives the Greeks a unique position in the history of mankind.

The faculty of discriminating ideal beauty depends largely on the effect of inanimate nature on man. Now, with the Greeks everything in nature tended to quicken their sense of beauty. Everywhere in Greece external and inanimate nature is combined to produce the best possible effect on man. The open-air life of the Greeks, and the healthfulness of the climate, and the beauty with which they were surrounded, all had their effect on the physical development of the Greeks, and tended to make them beautiful mortals ; and if we judge from the sculpture of the Greeks, there has been no race with a more harmonious physical development.

The Grecian race was not confined to this little portion of the world called Greece ; we find them occupying also the western coast of Asia. There were various tribes of the Greeks settled along the coast of Asia Minor, — at the north, the *Æolic* Greeks ; farther south, the *Ionic* Greeks, and below them a small section of country with people of a different intermixture of blood, but mainly *Ionic*. Then, too, some of the islands were occupied by the *Doric* Greeks. While the Greeks on the main-land of Europe were developing their civilization, here in Asia Minor another civilization was arising under somewhat different circumstances, and hence exhibiting different characteristics. But in one respect the conditions that affected this development of the two sections were similar ; the sea from the Hellespont down to the Carpathian Sea penetrates the coast almost as much as in Greece. The gulfs are so numerous that the coast looks like a pattern of fine lace. The mountain chains come close down

to the sea, exerting no small influence over the Ionian Greeks that were established on this coast. Another character of the land was less favorable, however. The rivers are very numerous, and connect the inland country with the coast, affording passages through the mountains. On this account the coast was not defended against invaders, and the inhabitants were in constant danger from the great Assyrian monarchies which lay to the eastward.

But who were these Greeks who seem so different from any other race with which we have to deal? The best general description of the early Greeks, or Hellenes, is that which Thucydides gives, near the beginning of his history; he says: "I mean by the term 'Hellenes,' those who, while forming separate communities, had a common language, and were afterwards called by a common name." The Hellenes were not known by that name in the Homeric time, and when they became conscious of their historic existence they had no knowledge of their origin. They fancied that they were the original settlers of the land, and with that spirit of imagination which gave to them so genial a conception of the relations between divine and human power, they invented a myth, tracing back their origin to the gods. They said that the oldest of the gods were Uranos and Gaia, Heaven and Earth, and their children were the Titans. The great power of the earth, one of the Titans, was Chronos, or Time. Zeus was the son of Chronos; one of his brothers was Iapetos, from whom descended Prometheus. The son of Prometheus was Deucalion, his grandson was Hellen. Hellen had three children: Doros, from whom the Doric tribe traced its descent; Æolus, from whom the Æolians claim to have been descended; and the third, Xuthus, whose son was Ion, and from him the Ionians claim their origin. Another son of Zeus was Achaïos, and from him sprung the Achaïan Greeks. The mother of Ion and Achaïos was Creusa, and she was the daughter of Erechtheus, supposed to have been one of the first kings of Athens. To give this legend a local habi-

tation, a district of Thessaly was called Hellas, over which Hellen ruled, and Æolus succeeded his father. The other brothers and the grandchildren were scattered over different portions of the neighboring territory, and hence the descendants of Doros mainly occupy the territory north of the Corinthian Gulf. The Achæians founded the cities of Mycenæ, Argos, and Sparta, and occupied the Peloponnesus. The Ionians occupied Attica and the region often called Achæia; they also made settlements on the coast of Asia Minor.

How were the different branches of the great Hellenic family distinguished? The main difference was in language; but each branch had these differences in language combined with the same differences in tradition and worship. The gods of the Dorian race, however, were not worshipped in the same order as those of the Ionian; for example, Apollo had a much larger part in the early history than the later, for he was then succeeded more or less by Athena, who was more of an Ionian divinity than Apollo had been. There are several forms given to this myth of the origin of the Hellenic race, but this is the one generally accepted.

It is only very lately that we have begun to know something more of the Greeks before they emerged into chronological history. They belonged of course to the great Aryan family, which at a very early time divided, sending off various lines of emigration, some going eastward and some coming westward. The Greeks, and the people who occupy Hindostan, the Hindoos, the Sanscrit-speaking people and the Greek and Latin speaking people of Italy, are all branches of one stock, and had lived together so long before their separation that each carried away many traditions common to all, many words of a common language. Sanscrit was formerly thought to have an advantage in age over the Greek and Latin language, but we cannot tell which separated from the parent stock first. From monuments that have been discovered, it is thought that the early Greeks in their migration came first to Italy, then to the isles of the Mediterranean, and, finally, to

Greece and Asia Minor ; they were that mysterious race known as the Pelasgi. Then at a later period came the true Hellenic migration, which drove out or subdued the Pelasgi, their elder brothers, and occupied their cities. At any rate, when we come to know anything about their language and habits, we find a division existing, best explained by supposing that one part passed south of the Propontus, while another band may have gone north of the Propontus and kept along westward to Greece proper. Undoubtedly there were many communications between the two, of which some sort of memory is preserved in the story of the siege of Troy.

The Hellenes began to emerge into light somewhere about 1500 B. C. They came forward gradually, but their entrance into history was the most splendid appearance of man on the face of the earth. There is hardly a trait of these early Greeks so marked from the very beginning as that of order. This is plainly shown in the very first historic work of the Greeks, the development of their language ; and with the Greek language the steady progressive movement of the mind of man begins. Since they had such a language, everything was possible to the Greeks in the way of intellectual progress.

There is no language that can be compared with it in the excellency of its constructions, in the logical development of the forms of the verb, and in the skill with which the various forms of the verb, noun, and adjective are so combined that ambiguity is avoided. It was the first language that possessed the power of expressing abstract conceptions, and of continuing a logical sequence of thought.

If we compare the Hebrew language with the Greek, we easily see even in a translation the vast superiority of the Greek for the expression of trains of thought. Now, this beauty, force, and precision of the Greek language throw the most vivid light on the qualities and principles of the early Greeks before history begins, for they come into history with their language already formed.

Our real knowledge of Greece begins with the Homeric poems. We may speak of Homer as a poet, though it is very doubtful if any one poet composed both the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey." The "Iliad" especially seems to have been put together from episodic poems. The discussion as to the origin of the Homeric poems has been carried on actively in Germany, France, and England, but the Germans were the first to point out the fact that the "Iliad" indicated a composite structure. The English, however, under Wolfe's leadership, have shown more clearly the divisions of the "Iliad" and the mode in which the different parts were united.

The time at which Homer wrote was, of course, a pre-historic one. The first migration of the Greek race had come to a close at that time. The different branches of the Greek family had already mingled very much, and the Greeks were beginning to form their permanent settlement in the region where we find them later. The poems of Homer may be taken as giving us a tolerably accurate view of the early society and political condition of the Greeks after their settlement in Greece proper and along the coast of Asia Minor. These poems contain a vast amount of mythical and traditional conceptions, mythical conceptions with regard to the history of man, traditional conceptions of events that actually occurred. These myths are interesting as illustrations of Greek character and institutions at this early time.

One of the most marked features of the Greek, as exhibited in Homer, is his healthy, vigorous, and inquisitive intelligence. The Greek, in Homer, is a reasoning man, — a man who reasons out his passions. He has not yet cultivated himself to the point where reason becomes the master of conduct under excitement, but he is tending to that position. It is not until man reaches complete self-mastery that he reaches the highest point of self-culture: the Greek was on the way.

Another very marked and interesting feature was the independence of the individual man. This is seen in the politi-

cal institutions, and in the fact that the king was not a despotic ruler ; but his will was constantly checked by the judgment of his inferiors. He took counsel with the elders, and, at times, with the younger chieftains. This approaches very near to a deliberative assembly. Then, in connection with the marked independence of the individual, one may notice the development of diverse types of character, — types of individuals as different as those found in modern society. Now, in difference of character the advance of civilization depends ; for, where character is uniform, civilization lacks vitality, and finally dies. It is from the heat and fire of collision of different thoughts and wills that truth springs, and thus criticism of one man on another is of the utmost value, not merely to the individual, but to society. More than this, the early Greek not only is different from his neighbor, but he becomes conscious of it, and values his independence. He even exerts his independence to the injury of the common cause. The reason why the siege of Troy dragged out ten years was on account of this extravagant independence of the Greek leaders before Troy.

The Greek man, as he shows himself in Homer, seems to be, on the whole, an exceedingly worthy fellow ; as yet, with very imperfect self-restraint, but frank and free, with the generous temperament of youth, with high but imperfect ideals of life. He was very little given to introspection or to speculation, and he did not lie awake at night thinking over his sins, though he meant to act rightly. He was selfish, like all undeveloped persons, eager, full of curiosity, energetic, versatile, and quick-witted. The conception of the brotherhood of mankind he would have regarded as ridiculous. There was a strong sense of personal right, but his sense of the dignity of the race tended to modify his selfishness. Every nation which has filled a large position in history has been proud of itself ; we see this in the Greeks as early as Homer. It was very marked in the Romans ; the Roman pride shows itself throughout their whole history. In modern times, the pride

of the French, allied, perhaps, with their gascon vanity, has done much to make the French and the English the great nations they have been. Every Englishman can whip three Frenchmen, it is said. The belief, the conceit of national power as embodied in the individual, is sunk very deeply in the English heart. We, in America, are not wanting in self-confidence, but we have as yet no national ideal upon which to base it. Perhaps the most precious self-possession of the Englishman is the phrase, "England expects every man to do his duty." We have no poetic embodiment of such a national sentiment. "If any man hauls down the American flag, shoot him on the spot!" seems to come the nearest to it. Till we get an epigram which shall appeal to every American, we lack one of the strongest fibres in our national life. This sentiment of the dignity of his race is very clearly displayed in Homer. The Greek believed in the Greek.

Another thing which marked the character of the Greek was his sensibility to the impressions of beauty, the sense of proportion, the sense of orderliness, which became the ruling traits in the Greek race. It is also noticeable how the Homeric Greek disliked what was excessive and monstrous.

Another pleasant quality displayed by the Greek was cheerfulness. He was not easily troubled or despondent; he faced the facts of life bravely, and the doubtful future, not with indifference, but with a lively interest and eagerness to meet whatever it might bring to him. He believed in the interference of the gods. But in Homer, the gods, Zeus and Hera, for instance, do not appear in a very dignified way; they appear rather like inferior human beings, somewhat under the influence of passion. The character of Athena in the "Odyssey" has strokes of great beauty in it, but on the whole she is only slightly raised above the level of humanity.

There is a very interesting relation between man and the gods shown in Homer, — man feels himself in direct relation

with them, and does not require the mediation of a priest. The priest was only the agent of the community, in the performance of certain functions agreeable to the gods, and was not an authorized minister of the gods. The mass of the Greeks were not believers in priestcraft, and were not weighed upon by a priestly order. This fact was of incalculable importance, for to it may be assigned a large part of the intellectual life and progress in thought made by the Greeks. The political system in Homer exhibits the same features as the later development of the nation, — an aristocracy and a democracy, the rule of a select body modified by the will of the multitude. Yet there was no established authority, — it was constantly changing. There was freedom in political institutions as in individual conduct.

The principal conception of the gods among the Aryan races, of which the Greeks are one, seems to have been the deification of the forces of nature; but their primitive conceptions, which are preserved in some of the earlier memorials of the Aryan race, were already obscured and changed before we have any real acquaintance with the Greeks. All the Greek gods were connected with nature, as Uranos and Gaia, Heaven and Earth. Oceanus was one of the early gods, then came Zeus, Apollo, and Athena, — Zeus the god of the powers of heaven, while Apollo represented the splendor and course of the sun, and Athena the goddess who typified the qualities belonging to the clear regions of the upper air, with its clouds, bright and dark, — and so with the other chief gods of Olympus. Slowly there grew up in connection with their sense of natural power an idea of moral principles belonging to the gods, and this twofold conception — the conception of the gods as typical of nature and also of moral principles — remained in the theology of the Greeks through the whole period of their life.

In respect to the religion of the Greeks, it is difficult to state briefly and definitely what may be called the prevailing conception; because, as in all religions, there is one concep-

tion held by the intelligent and enlightened, and another, more popular, which is the common belief, but which it would certainly be wrong to describe as the essential belief of the race. For instance, the conception held by enlightened men in regard to Christ is far different from that held by the mass of so-called Christians. It would be difficult to make a dogmatic statement about Christianity which would correctly represent the opinion both of the enlightened and the ignorant. So we must not think ill of the Greek religion, as many historians have done, because of the incongruities which the popular myths in Homer and Hesiod present. The true mode of judging a religion is twofold: first, to judge it according to the most enlightened men who have adopted it as their faith; and, secondly, according to the effect on their condition and on that of the mass of people who adhere to it. The Greek religion, judged from its effect upon the high-minded and cultured of the Greeks, commands a high place among the religions of the world.

The whole earth, to the Greek imagination, was peopled with divine beings not remote from him in sympathy, but sharing with him the delights of life. All nature seemed pervaded with divine life that was cheerful, gay, and generally harmless. One of the most characteristic qualities of the Greek religion was this pleasantness, very different from that of the semi-Christians of the Middle Ages, who believed in dwarfs, goblins, and elves, half mischievous, often demoniacal, ready to take offence, and needing to be courted by man. There is scarcely an instance of a similar religious feeling among the Greeks. Unless some special offence was given to these demigods and goddesses, they were inclined by their own dispositions to promote the interest of man and secure his safety.

On the whole, the Greeks believed in the gods as maintainers of the external order of the universe, based upon the principles of right. They did not attempt to analyze what was beyond their power of vision; they did not attempt to

define what they did not know. Their conception of a possible life after death was very vague and indefinite; they were hopeful that a life after death might exist, and that it might be a happy one. On the whole, the Greek outlook upon the universe was a cheerful one, very simple when compared with our modern complexity of sentiment and emotion.

At the time when the Greeks had risen to the height of their intellectual power, their notions of the gods were embodied in two phrases. Plato cites the Sophist Protagoras as saying, "*πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἄνθρωπος.*" "Of all things man is the measure; of the things that are, that they are, of the things that are not, that they are not." Then later Plato says: "God is the measure of all things, properly much more so than, as some say, man." These two sayings reveal to us much in regard to the higher conception of the Greeks with respect to the gods.

Man is the measure of all things, even of the gods, and this, in a sense, may be called an absolute truth; for man cannot conceive of God except in human terms; if he erect a personal God, he must be measured in terms of himself, the ideal of what he is capable of conceiving as best. All know Voltaire's aphorism, "God created man in his own image, and man has returned the compliment." There is truth in that, for a low man will conceive of God as low. The man is the measure of his gods, and according to the conception that a nation has of the gods can we judge of its social and intellectual as well as its moral condition. Plato, in his "Laws," says that "Gods are better measures of things than men," a better statement, for a man can only conceive of God according to his own nature. According to the nature of the man will be the nature of the God in whom he believes; and as we find the Greeks for two centuries the most vigorous and complete men seen on the face of the earth, so we believe that their conceptions of the gods were vigorous and rational.

The question as to the origin of things very much puzzled

the Greeks, but they gave very good answers to it, some simple, some very profound. The Greeks left the mysteries of life and death very much to one side; they were too healthy-minded to ask of the unsolvable its solution, or to demand of the inexorably mysterious the explanation of its being.

One of the most common dispositions of man in the early stages of civilization has been a curiosity to account for himself and his condition. It has lasted to the present time, but is less prominent as intelligence increases, and the improbability of giving any plausible account of the origin of life becomes more apparent. But in early times the ignorance of the past was much greater than it is to-day, for we have now recovered some slight knowledge of the beginnings of history. In the absence of correct knowledge and with the resources of tradition, mankind in different countries and different periods has been fond of inventing stories in regard to the beginning of history, to account for his own position in the world. These stories were sometimes based upon actual events, and sometimes were the mere offspring of the poetical imagination, — in fact, what we call myths. Myths have played a great part in the progress of the race. The early chapters of the book of Genesis afford a good illustration; they are designed to lay a foundation for religious belief, and to give a vivid picture of the beginning of things. But the Hebrews were a far less myth-creating people than the Greeks. The early conditions of the Hebrews were not favorable to a development of story-telling; but the qualities of the Greeks made them the greatest story-tellers ever known.

The Greeks did not invent any story, however, with regard to the creation of the world, which was universally adopted; but with regard to the relation between man and the gods, and with regard to the gods themselves, their literature abounded in myths. The multitude of stories which they told and handed down is such that they fill up the pic-

ture of Greek life with a background infinitely various and delightful.

The Greeks had a plastic fancy ; they liked to draw pictures of past events, and connect them with the life of man. One of the earliest myths deals with an interesting subject of speculation, the gradual emergence of order out of chaos. One of the myths by which the Greeks personified the struggle with natural forces is the conflict between the gods and the giants ; the giants indicating the forces of nature, and the gods the superior forces of mind. There are very few myths of a superstitious character, that is, which contain anything like the Hebrew treatment of the creation, the fall of man, and the punishment in which he is involved on account of sin. There was nothing in the traditions or myths which oppressed the Greeks, no imputed sin, no sense of a power exerted in an arbitrary way, against which he could not defend himself. Of course, they were a very credulous race ; credulity is the companion of ignorance, and man, being ignorant, believed a great deal for which there was no basis in experience. Many of the stories involved miracles, but faith in miracles was natural in the early stages of civilization. Belief in miracles is universal among the uneducated ; it is one of the beliefs that is given up, however, when the intelligence rises to a more enlightened conception in regard to the ordering of the world.

Now, many of these early myths have a deep significance and bear direct testimony to the simple and natural spiritual character of the race. So it happened that the background of Greek life was a mythical background, and the myths interwove themselves with the historic life of the race. This fact has a double importance : in the first place, it affords us the very best means of judging of the moral character of the people, of their moral standards and ideals ; and as the moral beliefs determine very largely the direction of the intelligence of a race, the myths afford us an insight into their intellectual capacity. In the second place, the study of the myths is

important, because they gradually absorbed into themselves the theology and philosophic speculation of the race. The Greeks blended their stories with their religious conceptions; and as the race acquired the power and art of expression, it adapted that expression to the traditions and beliefs which were comprehended in the myths. Mythography is the expression of myths in the form of art, while mythology is the expression of myths in literature. The subjects of Greek painting and sculpture are almost all mythological, and the supply to the poet and artist of Greece was almost inexhaustible; for instance, the majority of the tragedies of Æschylus and Sophocles and even Euripides are based upon myths.

It has often been maintained, and was generally believed until recent times, that the Greeks did not hold their religious beliefs with the same seriousness that the Christians do. For example, Boswell writes, in his "Life of Samuel Johnson": "Had the Greeks been serious in their belief, they would not have had their gods represented in the manner they were by the poets." This is altogether a narrow and false view, as if a man should say, If the Christians had been serious, we should not find their gods represented as in "Paradise Lost." But all rational men are bound to attribute sincerity to those who profess a religious belief and consistently carry it out in their lives. Ruskin says: "We cannot correctly interpret the religion of any people unless we admit that we are liable to error as well as they."

By a majority of men among the Greeks the myths were accepted as stated; but there was a class who drew from the myth its allegory, who drew from it a doctrine of a deeper sort; for example, the myth of Atlanta affords a beautiful instance of the development of myths in the hands of great writers. The struggle of generations up to civilization and enlightenment is embodied in the myth of the labors of Hercules. Going up a stage higher, we find nothing more charming than some of the myths in regard to Apollo or

Athena or the Muses. Apollo as the shepherd of Admetus, Athena as the protector and guide of Telemachus, are simple and delightful allegories.

Now, one very curious and instructive point in this subject arises from the fact that while the names of the gods and heroes were common to the whole Greek race, the stories relating to them varied, while special stories belong to special localities. The myths of Thebes varied widely from those of Athens, and both from those of Corinth and Sparta. Certain stories, for instance, of the Dorians about Apollo were never accepted by the Ionians. Something like this has occurred in the Christian mythology; each town in a Catholic country has a different patron saint, and around him are gathered special stories. One saint is worshipped in one place more than in another, and hence arose a friendly rivalry among the saints; so it was with the Greeks.

In the Greeks we find certain qualities very plainly marked; we find a constant disregard of morality in the conduct of individuals, inexcusable even according to the standards which the Greeks themselves had. The best test of the morality of a people is the permanence of its moral ideals, its regard for certain moral qualities which, in the long run, it is sure to cherish. The moral ideals of the Greeks were tolerably high, not very far removed from our own. There are certain things that they did not consider immoral which we no longer sanction, because they have proven injurious to the social condition of mankind. The morally right does not have reference merely to the effects on the individual, but also to the relations of man to society; thus morals are constantly in a state of evolution, depending upon the condition and aims of society. In Homeric times, the large social institutions on which the improvement of society depends had already come into play, though in Homer the virtues are largely private and personal, — such as generosity toward friends. Generosity toward public interest is hardly suggested in Homer. There is a great kindness toward friends and suppliants, and

occasionally to dependants, but not the large sense of responsibility to the community which has given man all that he is. The Greek conception of the gods was partly accountable for this absence of the social motive. The gods were regarded as the guardians of man, and as such should have exerted a good example of morality; but this they failed to do, for they were made too much like men. Yet, above the gods, is the conception of a moral law, — a law which is absolute, ruling the entire universe, both gods and men alike, of which the penalties cannot be escaped, and to which all are responsible. There is a fine passage in the sixteenth book of the "Iliad," in which Zeus is regarded as the guardian and source of justice, as the divine orderer and governor of the events of life. Perhaps the most noteworthy passage in Greek literature in regard to this absolute moral law is in the "Antigone" of Sophocles, verses 450-460, where Antigone says to Creon: "I did not think thy decrees strong enough, that thou, a mortal man, had the power to transgress the unwritten and eternal laws of God, — laws that are not of to-day or of yesterday, but are forever, and of which no man knows the source."

The Greeks believed that the consequences of sin followed every one; so in the Greek tragedies, and even in common thought, the gods were represented as divine personages who pursue and follow the offender till punishment follows, or till by repentance and purification an atonement has been secured. This is, perhaps, all we can say of the general morality of the Greeks, because they had not reached that point of intellectual development at which it becomes an object of interest to set up a moral system.

The courage that the Greeks showed indicates a growth of social morality. In Homer, courage is that of men fighting hand to hand, while the courage displayed by the Greeks at Thermopylæ, at Marathon, and at Coronea is that of men united for a common social end. In Homer, temperance, in a large sense, was very imperfectly developed; but in the history of Athens, during the fifth and sixth centuries, tem-

perance in the conduct of life was the aim of the community. There has never been a community with such a noble temperance of life as the Athenian ; not asceticism, not the self-abasement of the saint, but the self-controlled, temperate, rational conduct of men desirous of making the best of themselves and the conditions under which they lived. In truth, fulness with fulness, also, there was an advance. The Greeks were not a truthful race in general ; they were not disposed to speak the truth, whatever the consequences. But by degrees the importance of truth came to be regarded. The Greeks did not consider Themistocles a type of the highest manhood, for he gained his ends by treachery.

There remained always, however, among the Greeks, a somewhat low sense of what we call public morality. Charity, in its modern acceptance, was not known. The world had not reached the point of recognizing the brotherhood of man. Through the whole course of Greek history, the morality which influenced them was self-regarding. Christ has brought a new ideal into the world : "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another ; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another." And also, "Love worketh no ill to his neighbor ; therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law."

This conception the Greeks did not reach ; with this exception, they did not fall much below our moral standards. In one respect, the Greek conception of the right life was better than ours : it regarded right as synonymous with healthful. Health of soul is better obtained when health of body accompanies it. The Greeks were very sensitive ; health of body made them keen in their enjoyment of pleasure, and also in the delicacy of their moral perceptions. The close connection which was established in the Greek thought between the sensations, the sensible perceptions and conduct is exhibited by the use that the Greeks made of the word *καλός* ; they did not speak of good deeds, but noble deeds ; their expression for a gentleman was, "*καλὸς κ' ἀγαθός*." "*Οὐ καλὸν ἐστί*" — "it is not beautiful" — meant, also, "it is not

right." The religion of any race has a very close relation to its morality, though it is independent of it in many features.

On the whole, we must conclude that the practical morality of the Greeks was very high ; a fact which will be brought out more fully by a study in detail of the arts of the Greeks at Athens, for the evidence they afford is clearer than that of the literary records. It would have been impossible for any race to perform the deeds of the Greeks, if their morality had not been a high social morality. Moreover, they recognized that man is the master of all morality ; that every man is the architect of his own soul ; and that it is cowardly and futile to look to a future life to adjust what we are not brave enough to make possible here on earth.

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- Lectures by Prof. Wilkins. (See *Spectator*, Nov. 10, 1888.)
- Essay on Grote's History, by John Stuart Mill.
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HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART,

PREPARED BY

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FROM LECTURES DELIVERED BY

PROFESSOR CHARLES ELIOT NORTON,

AT

HARVARD COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.



VOLUME II.

BOSTON:

ALFRED MUDGE & SON, PRINTERS, 24 FRANKLIN STREET.

1891.

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CHAPTER V.

GREECE (*continued*).

THE traditions most widely disseminated among the Greeks, and nearly all their popular myths, point to the introduction of the arts of design and of construction from abroad,—at least to a very strong and direct influence exerted upon their development by the arts of the preceding races. The influence of Egypt and of Assyria on the Greeks is evident; and their intercourse with Phœnicia is indicated not only by their traditions, but also by the remains found in the early Grecian tombs.

The part played by the Phœnicians in the early civilization of Greece was a very large one. Every reference of Homer to the arts indicates how familiar the Greeks were with the articles of Phœnician commerce, and the earliest works assigned with certainty to the Greeks bear the sign of this Phœnician influence. The Greek alphabet was obtained through the Phœnician as the result of a long process of elimination and evolution, until at last it became an ample means for the preservation of thought in literary form. The Greeks practically began their civilization with the alphabet. Of course there was a long period of preparation before they had shaped the alphabet into its final form, but the alphabet of 900 B. C. was but slightly different from that which the Greeks use to-day. Together with the alphabet came the models of art which the Greeks used. They did not adopt or imitate the forms transmitted from Phœnicia, but shaped them by their own genius, using as elements for a finer development the works and models which were offered them

by the older races. It does not detract from the originality of the Greeks to say that none of their arts were natural to them. Shakespeare is no less a poet because he took the basis of his work from earlier sources, for it is no plagiarism for any one to draw from the past what can nourish, invigorate, and purify his thought. The Greeks were the most original and creative of people, as well as the people who borrowed the most. The originality of genius is seen in the use nations make of the elements handed down to them, embodied in traditions and institutions. It was in the use of the alphabet as a means of literary criticism, and in the use of the art of sculpture in expressing the emotions and sentiments, that the Greeks showed their imagination and creative power.

We can hardly say that the Greeks originated anything in the way of the arts. They were not the first writers or painters, they were not, indeed, the first builders of beautiful buildings, nor the first bronze casters. But they took all these arts and inspired them with a new spirit, which made them for the first time the expression of the deepest intellectual resources of man, for the first time capable of rendering the thoughts and emotions of man in such form that they should speak through their works to all successive generations.

The Greeks, although they recognized their dependence on previous races, had none the less an independent vein of speculation and tradition, and they consequently attributed to themselves much which they had derived from others. They fancied themselves the original race that had settled Greece, and when they tried to give an account of the works found on their soil, and about which there was no historical record, they were accustomed to ascribe them to their own race in the early stages of its existence. The Greeks, to be sure, were puzzled at finding enormous remains of buildings which had been erected in prehistoric times. These remains consisted mainly of walls, and were built by that mysterious people, the Pelasgi, a race which had arisen from the same

stock as the later Greeks, and had preceded them in possession of the land.

The Pelasgi were a great wandering people that occupied the peninsulas of Italy and of Greece, many of the islands of the Mediterranean, and a considerable part of the northern portion of Asia Minor. They must have been a very numerous people, with a comparatively high civilization. The Cyclopiian walls, so called because ascribed to the mythical Cyclopiian giants, are found very widely throughout the region occupied by the Pelasgi. These walls are of great size and extent, and are designed with such skill for the purpose of fortification that they must have protected an immense number of people. Moreover, they show a considerable advance of the arts, and the existence of a somewhat highly developed social life at the time of their erection.

Almost all the walls of the Pelasgi that remain are strongholds, generally erected near the summits of steep hills, to form a line of defence for the people living on the mountains. That the existence of such walls was very early recognized by the Greeks, is indicated by a passage in the *Odyssey*, where Homer speaks of them as the works of the race of the Cyclops who occupied the summits of high hills. (*Odyssey*, Book IX., verse 113.) These walls are found in some of the mountain regions of Italy, Sicily, and Crete, and especially in the Peloponnesus.

The walls of Tiryns in the Peloponnesus are rudely built of great blocks of unhewn stone not matched together, the gaps between being filled with small stones. These walls at the time they were built varied from twenty to twenty-five feet in thickness, and some reached to the height of fifteen to forty feet. They are provided with gates of entrance, and seem to have towers of look-out. Not far from Tiryns is Argos and also Mycenæ, and both have walls of the same kind a little more elaborately built. These latter are of hewn stone, polygonal, of any form easily hewn, but placed together closely and with considerable skill. There are

blocks in these walls so massive as to indicate the necessity of some sort of a simple engine to lift them into place.

As has been said, when the Greeks came to study and consider their past, they could tell nothing about the history of the men who built these walls. So they invented myths about the builders, called them Cyclops, and imagined them to have been monsters with close relations to the gods, and with superhuman power. They conceived the Cyclops to be the assistants of Vulcan, and with other myths represented them as a Thracian race which had migrated from place to place. But there were also less famous monsters, the Dactylæ, who came from Mount Ida in Crete or from the mountain that marked the Trojan plain. There were five brothers and five sisters, so the names of the fingers of the hand were given to them. The Dactylæ were supposed to have been the first to discover iron and its uses, and to work with iron tools.

There was still another mythological race which the Greeks believed to have had something to do with the ancient works, — the Telchinæ, supposed to mean the Sons of the Sea. They were a people who came from abroad and settled in Greece, bringing arts and skill that the Greeks did not possess. They were said to have been the inventors of all the arts, and the first to devise images of the gods; hence they were considered to be the mythological progenitors of the long list of Greek artists that follow. Dr. Schliemann's discoveries have revealed much in regard to the works at Mycenæ and the remains of ancient Troy, but nothing about the people; and we shall probably never recover any true historical knowledge about their wanderings, and the events which marked their history till they were conquered and crushed out by later invaders.

One of the myths which the Greeks had in regard to their descent from the ancient races was in the form of an early migration of the Greek race itself. Somewhere about eleven or twelve centuries B. C., there seems to have been

an enormous movement of the Greek race southward, down from the mountains of Thrace and Epirus, to the lower portions of Greece. This migration was known as the return of the Heraclidæ, when the descendants of Hercules (or Heracles) reoccupied the region which they had formerly possessed. Moreover, it seems that in this case the myth was the actual fact, for it is evident that the tribes of the Hellenic race did move southward from the mountains of north-western Greece somewhere about the eleventh century B. C., and destroyed much of the old civilization.

In the writings of Homer, the Greeks are generally grouped under the title of Achæans (*Ἀχαιοί*). The Achæans were, perhaps, the first of the Greek race who descended into Greece and drove out the Pelasgi. Next to them came the Dorians, while the Ionian branch occupied mainly Asia Minor. The Dorians and the Achæans lived together in some regions of Greece, but the latter had lost their supremacy. There was also a race, a mixture of these two, occupying Attica. When the Greeks enter the clear, open field of history, the greater part of the Hellenic territory was occupied by the Dorians, who had lost all consciousness of what they had inherited from the former civilization. The Dorians occupied the whole of the Peloponnesus and a large part of the northern part of Greece. They were intermingled here and there with the old Achæans and the continental Ionians, while the Ionians proper were located on the western coast of Asia Minor. It is with the Dorians and Ionians that we have to do in the later periods of Greek history; the others took but a subordinate part, and had only a slight influence on Greek civilization. The mingling of these different bloods was unquestionably an advantage, for it gave a more open quality to the race, and moderated some of its sharper traits. The flower of the Greek race seems to have been that part in which the blood of the Dorians and Ionians was most mingled; that is, the Athenians.

If we compare the Dorians and the Ionians, we find a

striking contrast between them ; the qualities which they exhibit were curiously complementary to one another, so that, if we had been able to take a view in advance of the history of the races, we should have said that a mixture of the two was destined to reach a higher point of development than either by itself. In the Dorians, the sense of order was very highly cultivated, and it led to great strictness in their communities. This quality reacted on the individual, giving each man the sense of strength which comes from the feeling of association with others of similar purpose. It is through a sense of order that man learns obedience to authority, established through custom or the accumulated experience of the community. But this very sense of order, if carried too far, has its evil side ; it leads to narrowness of view and an excess of conservatism, which are very well illustrated in the history of Sparta. The Spartans were pure Dorians, and, although they played a very large part in the life of Greece, they were not the race to which the progress of the nation owed its chief stimulus. They reached a certain point and stopped ; they were not imaginative nor in sympathy with new ideas, and did not invent or carry forward the arts. However, they established a firmly regulated social order, and maintained it against conditions of society superior but less strong than their own.

It had long been known that at Mycenæ there were ruins of certain buildings very curiously and elaborately constructed. Among them the so-called Gate of Lions is especially interesting, because it is the earliest piece of Greek sculpture known. Another of these prehistoric remains is called the Treasury of Atreus. (See Reber, p. 273.) Dr. Schliemann has discovered a group of tombs within the walls of Mycenæ, whose situation had long been indicated by the character of the ground. The best preserved of these buildings are built of hewn stones laid in horizontal courses, with a dome-shaped roof, formed by the gradual projection of the stones one over another in a circle till they meet at the top.

These buildings were provided with an elaborate entrance and well-constructed door, and were evidently intended for the deposit of precious objects in connection with the burial of kings and famous men. The objects found in the tombs serve to show the great influence this early race must have exerted over the later Greeks. These objects are of gold, silver, bronze, ivory, amber, and other precious materials, curiously worked, and exhibiting a high degree of artistic skill. The most curious of a great variety of objects were certain very thin plates of gold, almost approaching gold leaf in thinness, exquisitely malleable, which had been spread over the face of the dead as a mask, exhibiting the features with great exactness. Among the most abundant of the objects found are vases of clay, differing greatly in shape and exhibiting a very varied style of ornamentation. Most of them bear a close resemblance to those of Cyprus and of Asia Minor, which ante-date those of Greece.

The dress of the persons was ornamented very richly with gold ; there were multitudes of gold buttons, many of them crude, but others skilfully engraved. By the side of the bodies were placed other ornaments, especially swords with exquisitely designed hilts engraved and inlaid with other metals. In fact, so many beautiful objects have been found as to give the city a title to the Homeric name "Golden Mycenæ." Some of these objects may have been imported, for many bear evidence of Oriental influence ; and it is safe to infer that there must have been a very extensive and continuous commerce between those Peloponnesians and the Phœnicians, as well as with Crete. Indeed, many of the objects scattered over the island of Crete correspond with those just described. Crete may be regarded as the first site of characteristic Greek work in design, and its people probably had a higher civilization at this early time than the Greeks of the mainland. They had much the same relation to Greece that Sicily had to Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries ; the Sicilians were more advanced than the Italians, and hau

a considerable influence over them. We cannot infer that the works of this earlier civilization had any great influence on the Greek genius as developed by the Dorians and Ionians ; but, at any rate, the later Greeks inherited a certain technical knowledge from their predecessors.

The Greeks, with their tendency to group abstract conceptions under the form of human beings, invented a legend which ascribed to a person called Dædalus the invention of many of their arts. There were various accounts of Dædalus, one account representing him as a native of Athens, another as coming from Crete ; and we may suppose that the basis of this confusion was the fact that it was the Athenians who were the first to develop the arts to a high degree of excellence, and it was from Crete that they derived many of their suggestions. The name Dædalus is derived from an old root by reduplication, *dao* (*δαῶ*), meaning to learn or teach. The first occurrence of the word in literature is as *διδάσκω*, to make skilful ; and Dædalus may therefore signify the skilful workman. He it was who, according to the myth, first gave life to the images that the sculptor carved. The earliest figures were very rude : a column shaped like a cone, and set up at the entrance of the temple at Delphi, was regarded as the sacred image of Apollo ; and there is an account of a mere pike at Samos, hardly carved at all, called the sacred representation of Hera. There was no likeness in these, and Dædalus was said to have been the first to give life to the images of the gods. The stories told of the great impression made by his statues show the sensitiveness of the Greek race to plastic representations of life.

It is interesting to observe that almost all the works of art mentioned in Homer had their origin, not in the people of Greece proper, but in the races along the coast of Asia Minor. Some of these works are ascribed to Hephæstus himself, the patron of all smiths, of which the most important is the shield of Achilles, described at length by Homer. His description, however, is probably that of some fanciful object.

(See Reber, p. 271.) These shields were made by fastening plates of metal on wood or some other substance by means of metal nails.

The modes of work in metal at this very early time seem to have been very skilful and varied. The metal was undoubtedly hammered into plates, which were then engraved with a sharp-pointed instrument ; and in some cases the lines of the engraving were filled in with gold or silver, or some other metal different from the plate itself.

Another kind of work, probably introduced from Assyria, was the hammering of plates of metal over wooden models or moulds until they assumed the form of the model. This art, of which the work was called *Sphyrelaton*, was widely spread, and affected the early Greek sculpture. The fastening together of the plates was for a long time a purely mechanical process ; they had not reached the art of welding. Almost everything, however, of this early art, bears the Oriental stamp. The famous four-handled cup of Nestor, on the edge of which doves were placed, is obviously of Oriental origin. The style was doubtless taken from the Phœnicians, who were themselves only imitators. Then, too, we know that the armor of Agamemnon was brought from Cyprus. Cyprus was one of the chief centres for Oriental commerce, and its arts down to a very late date show the influence of Assyrian and of Egyptian work.

It is interesting to note in this connection that there is no evidence in Homer nor in the excavations that the art of architecture had been carried by these early races to a very high point. Greek architecture, properly speaking, with the exception of the early walls of defence and the dome-shaped treasuries, belongs to a later period. The two or three centuries after 1100 B. C. must have been filled with events of great importance in shaping the Greek character and in fitting it for the great work to be done ; but of these centuries there is no trustworthy record. The question in regard to the identity of the Homeric people is likely to remain a

mystery. Hesiod was also a poet of very great importance, belonging to this same period of two or three centuries between the ruin of the Achæan civilization and the historic beginning of the later Greeks.

During this time, of which we have so little knowledge, the Greeks were shaping themselves into those orderly communities in which we find them when history begins. They were undergoing a long and important process of intellectual discipline, and were acquiring a large body of well-organized traditions and myths. These stories gave distinctness to their conceptions of heroes and heroic events. They quickened the imaginative spirit of the race, and afforded a large material from which the Greek artists were to select their subjects.

There are but few events in Greek history before the eighth century B. C. to which dates are assigned. The earliest date known with certainty marks the beginning of the Olympic games, 776 B. C. The establishment of these games indicates a very advanced condition of national life and religious development. Zeus still remained, as in the earlier times, the chief divinity of the Greeks, and the first of the sacred places to become a national shrine seems to have been the temple of Zeus at Dodona in Thessaly. Thither resorted the people from all regions of the land for the solution of public or private difficulties. The worship of Zeus was simple and of a symbolic character, and there is abundant evidence that, instead of offering actual victims to the gods, it was thought enough to offer an image of the victim. The priestly order in Greece never gained sufficient authority over the people to secure such material advantage as it has in other countries. The priest performed certain functions in the temple, but the chief worship of the Greeks seems to have been a family worship. The altar was not hidden ; in the early times it was set in the open space in front of some building dedicated to the gods, and containing the offerings made at his shrine. At Olympia was the famous temple of Zeus, and here was the great altar on which offerings were made. The temple had

nothing of the character of a church, for the religious services were carried on out of doors. This simplicity of relation between the people and the divinity was of great advantage to the race. Zeus maintained his position as the chief of the gods, especially as the guardian of justice, while other divinities in different localities commanded local reverence. The favorite god of the Dorians was Apollo, and he was fitly represented with his image in the sun, being connected with the Greek intelligence that was to be the source of light to the world. The shrine of Apollo at Delphi was very early one to which the whole Dorian race resorted. No god or goddess held a place in the hearts of the Ionians similar to that of Apollo to the Dorians. The shrine of Hera at Samos was, however, much worshipped by the Ionians, while Athena belonged to both branches. Indeed, all the shrines commanded a somewhat more than local worship. This worship of the gods and perpetual resort to their shrines united the whole nation by a common sentiment. The Olympic games also prevented provincialism in the different divisions of the Greek race, and were of the utmost importance as an element of national unity. The other great games, the Pythian, were founded at a later date, and exercised much the same influence.

In the Homeric time, the organization of society was apparently very simple, and the chief authority of the state was in the hands of a king. In the eighth century, however, the kings had everywhere disappeared, and were succeeded by a body of the more powerful men of the state, who formed an aristocracy. This was sometimes an aristocracy of the leading families, and sometimes rested on a wider basis, including talented persons who were not members of distinguished families. This aristocracy ruled the state usually in its own interest. Gradually the power became centralized in the hands of a tyrant, who had taken it from the large body to which he belonged. The rule of these tyrants was similar to that of Louis Napoleon in later days :

he was a tyrant in the Greek sense, for he attempted to conciliate the democracy, and to do what he could to adorn and strengthen the city and further its material interests, while at the same time he tried to prevent any individual from becoming a dangerous rival for his position. These tyrants generally succeeded for a time in transmitting the power to their legitimate descendants; but the nature of their rule was such as to raise in the minds of the people a spirit of opposition, which after a time led to the overthrow of the tyrants and their replacement by a democracy. Thus there were the kings in the early time, the aristocracy succeeding the kings, next the tyrants, and lastly the democracy, each in its own way doing what it could to build up the cities where it exercised rule, to make them strong and beautiful, and to develop civic pride and patriotism.

The kings of the olden times loved splendor, and cultivated the arts for personal ends. The wealthy aristocracy became patrons of the arts in making offerings to the gods, in decorating their houses, and in making themselves popular in their cities. Thus the arts of architecture and design had a somewhat steady progress. Then the political changes prevented anything like stagnation of life. The activity of political thought, the variety of political organization, and the frequency of political reversals, kept the minds of the people active with regard to matters not purely selfish. It is a mistake to consider the restlessness of a people a sure sign of a progressive intellectual condition; but a restless desire to reach something higher, something nearer the ideal, is one of the fundamental conditions of progress in civilization.

Thus from the extreme activity of thought and quickening of the imagination among the Greeks, one might have expected a rapid progress of the arts such as no other race had exhibited. Some of the sayings of their wise men indicate the kind of thought, preëminently moral in its nature, which was occupying the Greek mind. One of these sayings inscribed over the temple at Delphi is as useful to

later generations as it was to the Greeks, who stood at the very beginning of thought, — "Know thyself." There is another ascribed to Epitomes of the seventh century B. C., — "Recognize thine opportunity." But the one most characteristic of the Greek temper is attributed to Cleobulus, — "In nothing too much" (*ἀριστον μέτρον*), — the true mean is the best. Here is another which is excellent, — "Wish things possible"; do not unduly or vainly wish. Another is, "Enjoy what thou possessest," and another, "Do well to thyself," — an admirable saying, with the whole lesson of self-respect involved in it. Another closely connected with this is, "Stand in awe of thyself." There are many others; Plutarch gives a list of them in one of his Moral Essays.

The Greeks now made various experiments in all the arts of expression. It is between the tenth and seventh centuries B. C. that they developed the Doric style of architecture, one of the most beautiful architectural creations the world has known, and in some respects the most complete. By the seventh century the Greeks had all the elements of this style fully in their hands, but it took two centuries more to reduce these elements to their final form. They were also beginning to practise the art of sculpture, but till the seventh century they do not seem to have recognized the importance of this art in the representation of life, and the noble adornment of architecture.

At this early time the Greeks began to practise drawing on flat surfaces of all sorts, and painting on clay. Their first figures were very rude, as a child would draw on a slate. They did not understand how to render the full form of a natural object on a flat surface; they were ignorant of the laws of perspective and the methods of producing the effects of light and shade; but by degrees their eyes were sharpened. We see the eye and the hand working together from the beginning. There can be nothing better or more imposing in its way than the vigor of the Greek stroke in drawing.

One of the most noticeable things in the early Greek drawings is the expression of the principle of order and symmetry which lay deep in the Grecian heart. There is abundant evidence of this trait in the figures which ornament the Greek vases. One cannot fail to note the neatness of the hair of both men and women, the careful and orderly patterns on the garments, and the elaborate way in which these childlike designers represented the folds of the garments. If one takes the early works of Greek art and studies them in connection with the later productions, taking them in chronological order, one sees that, with added perception and new powers of representation, the simplicity of the early modes disappeared, and freer compositions are introduced; but the very basis of all is to be found in the precision and accuracy which the Greek artist had learned in the early days by following this rule of order. The first work of this period of which we have a clear conception is the famous chest of Kypselos, the tyrant of Corinth, dating from the seventh century B. C. His story is told in Herodotus's History, Book V., chap. 92.

At the beginning of the historic life of the Greeks Apollo was honored as the most national of all their gods. The worship of Zeus apparently belonged to the very early days of Greek consciousness, and was handed down by the Pelasgi to the Hellenes who supplanted them; but the worship of this deity was of secondary importance in the later mythology. Apollo is said to have been born on the island of Delos, where, at his birth, the laurel first sprang up. It is difficult to determine what were the first conceptions about Apollo. He was the god of the sun, the type of light, both physical and moral; he was the god of music and of song. He was regarded as the symbol of the movements of the universe, and the director of their order. Pestilence was warded off by his power. Apollo was especially the protector of men in civic life, and the guardian of the interests of the community. Under his protection cities were founded and

walls built ; and, when Greece sent out colonies, it was under his auspices that the colonies went forth.

The myths about the early life of Apollo represent him in kindly and close relation to man. Zeus remained remote, and delegated the care of man to other divinities less powerful than himself, and the first of these was Apollo. Apollo intervened between man and Zeus, and through him the punishment that followed crime might be mitigated. There is a striking passage in Plato's Republic, Book IV., p. 427, where he speaks of Apollo as "the god who sits in the centre, on the navel of the earth, and he is the interpreter of religion to all mankind."

The most famous of the sanctuaries of Apollo, even in prehistoric times, was at Delphi. Here assembled once a year a council of delegates from the different states, which were embraced in an Amphictyonia. In the early times there were several Amphictyonic councils, but gradually all were absorbed into one that assembled at Delphi. This assembly was the first and most important indication of a truly national sentiment, and embraced so many of the tribes that it became the chief national institution of Greece. The sphere of this council was at first somewhat narrow ; its main object was to preserve peace between the members of the council, to procure united action in matters of common interest, and to keep up a sense of mutual dependence and mutual power. Two points were sworn to by the members of the council, — that no Hellenic tribe during war was to destroy the habitations of another, and that during the siege of a city water was not to be cut off from it.

One of the results of the Amphictyonic council was the establishment of a common calendar, which led to a general agreement about the months and years. It had some effect also in regulating the coinage, for the council had a common treasury, administered by officers chosen from its members. Each state contributed a small annual sum for the maintenance of the buildings for worship and for the performance of

the sacrifices. At the time of the assembly there was a general peace throughout Greece ; a truce was proclaimed, so that there should be no interruption of travel, and Apollo was considered the guardian of the roads. This temporary quiet brought about a conception of the benefits of a more established peace. In the council itself the members learned the value of argument and reason in debate, and the submission of a part to the majority of the community gradually came to be recognized as a principle in the unwritten public law of Greece. All these relations of the Amphictyonic council to the national life of the Greeks tended to increase the authority of Apollo, the reverence in which he was held by the Greeks, and the importance of the central site of his worship at Delphi.

There was no place in Greece more favorably situated for a common centre of religious worship than Delphi. It lies in the midst of Greece in a sheltered spot near the coast, with roads leading in all directions. Here was the sacred temple of Apollo, within which from a cleft in the earth there arose a vapor, which so affected those who breathed it as to inspire them with the will of the deity, and to give them the power of revealing his will in oracles. The guardianship of the temple was committed to five of the ancient families of Delphi, and the members of these families were called the Hosioi, the sacred priests. It was not for them, however, but for a virgin, to deliver the oracles of the god. She went through certain acts of purification, and took her seat on the tripod over the mouth of the opening in the earth. The tripod was from very early times one of the chief objects in the temples of the gods, for on it the smaller sacrifices were offered and the incense burned. The tripod used at Delphi was so formed as to secure the virgin when she had lost consciousness, owing to the vapor. She took her place on the tripod, waited, and finally delivered the voice of the god. Everything that was dignified and could affect the imagination was attended to by the priests, and the impression produced on those who

approached was a very deep one during the centuries that the oracle was consulted. We must do what we can to stimulate our imagination in regard to the impressiveness of the scene and the worship, and to recognize how simple was the veneration of the oracle, and how great the weight of the words that proceeded from it in determining the public and private affairs of life. We must remember with entire respect that this delivery of divine counsel was regarded as a real thing, and that the character of the oracles delivered was for the most part such as to confirm their faith. The guardians of the temple were a body of public-spirited, intelligent men, such as did not exist anywhere else in Greece at that time. They had unusual advantages for obtaining correct information on all subjects, partly through the assemblies of the Amphictyonia, and partly through meeting with distinguished men sent as envoys from other countries. The belief in the divine character of the oracles was so widespread that foreign nations frequently sent their leading men as envoys to the shrine. Herodotus gives many striking instances of the arrival of embassies from Croesus and other powerful monarchs of Asia Minor. They often brought great gifts, and were entertained with pomp and dignity at the expense of the temple. Indeed, it must have been seldom that Delphi was not frequented by strangers of more than average ability, who could convey important intelligence to the Hosioid; and it must be regarded as a piece of great good fortune that the oracle was in charge of men of character, capable of making a serviceable use of their position for the benefit of the Greek race.

The question naturally arises, How was this authority of Apollo, without any considerable material force behind it, able to maintain itself as it did in the minds of so vigorous and intelligent a race as the Greeks? The answer is found in the conservatism of the Hosioid and the ambiguity of many of the oracles. The Pythia — the virgin who was seated on the tripod — was always assisted at the moment of ecstasy by

the Prophetæ. Her words were so broken, and the duty of the Prophet speech to a connected meaning. To the form to which they reduced them of men who undertook the interpretation. It might be said, if the issue of the oracle to the declaration, that the Manteis were false. Then, too, the Greeks had the conception of a law from which ever escape, — the law of nature and the conception, however imperfectly held, as an explanation of any incongruity, since the law might be limited by laws over which it thus the authority of the oracle was maintained. In the eighth and seventh centuries B. C., when Greece sent out colonies to Egypt and Italy, the advice of the Hosioi was of great value, and gave the leaders of the expeditions a certain confidence which is an important element in success. The prosperous colonies in their gratitude sent large gifts to the oracle, and in the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. the wealth of Delphi was greater than that of any other single depository in Greece.

One of the most important events in the history of Delphi was the first Sacred War, during which, in 548 B. C., the temple was burned. This was soon replaced by a magnificent building in the Doric style, that was for a time one of the most splendid in Greece. The pediments or gable ends of the temple, above the columns, were adorned with sculptured groups, the one at the eastern end representing Apollo and the Muses, and the western group consisting of Dionysus and the Thriades. In the peribolos, or space around the temple, were buildings erected by different states. Perhaps the most famous of these were the Lesche or club-houses of the Knidians, adorned with very famous paintings by Polygnotus. The peribolos had other buildings, so that several acres were filled with these works, not arranged in

any special order, but standing in picturesque and brilliant effect. There were innumerable statues of the victors in the games, statues of noted men and of divinities, and in the later times some that scarcely deserved a place in so sacred a spot,—as of Phryne, who dedicated her image as an offering to the god.

The splendor and attractions of Delphi, from its religious and poetical associations, made it, through the whole time of the superiority of the Greek intelligence, one of the chosen centres of Greek art. But on account of its great wealth it was exposed to dangers from which it otherwise would have been free. The invaders of Greece at all times sought Delphi, with the hope of securing the valuables stored in the temple or in the treasuries. The Persians made an unsuccessful attack upon it, and later the Gauls, in the year 279 B. C. During the period when Greece had fallen into confusion because of the conflict between Athens and Sparta, the Phocians had control of the temple; and in the year 448 B. C., when the Athenians were preparing to win the leadership of Greece, the Phocians again took possession of the territory, but were driven out by the Spartans, who held it till the Peace of Nicias in 421 B. C., when the independence of the Delphians was recognized. But the Phocians invaded it again, and held it till the time of the Phocian War, in 355 B. C. Then Philip of Macedon interfered, and his expulsion of the Phocians was the beginning of the loss of Grecian independence. Delphi experienced various fortunes in the next two or three hundred years, and gradually its authority and influence in Grecian affairs diminished. After the Romans gained possession of Delphi, the site was regarded as a favorite one for plunder. So rich was it in works of art, that the Romans could carry off multitudes of statues without greatly affecting the general splendor of the place. Nero divided the lands around the city among his troops, and carried off five hundred statues of bronze to Rome. But he left so many that Pliny numbered the remainder at

three thousand. At the time of Pausanias's visit, about 170 A. D., the temple was still one of the most beautiful buildings in Greece. (Pausanias's History, Book X.)

From year to year Delphi thereafter became less and less frequented, till at last the oracle almost ceased to give any divine counsel. During the first century A. D. a few still held to the ancient faith; but when Christianity became the nominal religion of the Roman Empire, and when the seat of power had been transferred to Constantinople, Delphi gradually fell into decay, and in the reign of Theodosius, from 375 to 395 A. D., the temple was closed, and the oracle ceased forever. Its destruction was brought about not only by the attacks of its enemies, but also by earthquakes, and early in this era the temple was in ruins. The buildings had been situated on sloping ground, and as the works in the enclosure were gradually destroyed, they were covered by the earth, so that during the last three or four centuries nothing was to be seen at Delphi except some scattered blocks that formed the walls of the temple. Delphi has disappeared, and the village of Castri has taken its place. The site of the temple is now occupied by a collection of mud huts, owned for the most part by a wretched population of shepherds.

During the middle ages and even in modern times, from the tenth to the eighteenth century, there was scarcely a single recollection of Delphi; nothing was known about it. But in this century there has been a revival of interest in Grecian antiquities. Between 1830 and 1840, Karl Müller visited Delphi, and devoted himself to an investigation of the ruins. He was accompanied by a young student, Curtius, who continued the work after the death of Müller. He collected a large number of inscriptions of great value in increasing our acquaintance, not merely with the history of Delphi, but with the character of the interests that centred around the temple and the oracle. This work excited an interest which resulted in the establishment of a French school at Athens. An account of the work done has been given by M. Beulé, in

his "Fouilles et Decouvertes." He says, on page 110 of the book: "Nothing proves better than the little already done how rich the soil of Delphi is, and how fertile it would be if properly worked." And at the close he writes: "The sanctuary at Delphi is a mine richer than that of Olympia. . . . There are in Greece three sanctuaries of religion and of art that the school of Athens ought to regard as the regular field of its exploration: the acropolis of Athens, and its neighborhood, where M. Strack has been left to discover the Theatre of Bacchus; Olympia, where France has alone begun the work; and finally Delphi, of which MM. Foucart and Wescher have so nobly taken possession, but where there remains so much in store for those who dare to imitate them."

CHAPTER VI.

GREECE (*continued*).

DURING the historic period of Greek life, the centre of interest in thought, expression, and action, was at Athens. The site of the city is a noticeable one. It lies in Attica, that promontory of Greece which stretches farthest eastward toward the islands that form the stepping stones between Greece and Asia, and hence was in easy communication with the East. Athens was built originally on a summit of rock of easy defence. This acropolis, which in the early historic time was the fort and defence of the city, became, in later years, its central ornament. At the foot of the rock, which rises abruptly from the plain, being one of the last spurs of the chain which encloses Attica on the north and east, a gentle slope extends westward to the Gulf of Salamis. In every direction there stretches out a beautiful landscape, to the island of Ægina on the south, and to the hills on the north and east. Attica seems to have derived its name from the root Akte, meaning a strip or point. From this came Aktike, a point running out into the sea; but the name Athens is closely connected with the goddess Athena, the chief guardian of the city. The Greek name for Athens is, in the plural, *αἱ Ἀθῆναι*, which may be translated, correctly, the Athenas, the city of Athena under her different aspects. The appropriateness of the name is one of the most striking accidents in this particular that history affords.

The early legends in regard to the coming of the goddess to Athens, and the contest between Athena and Poseidon for the possession of the city, are known to every one. This

contest, according to the most poetical accounts, was on the summit of the acropolis, where, in after years, the ancient and venerable temple of Athena stood. Here the worship of Poseidon also was carried on, showing the friendly relation between the two divinities after the quarrel had been settled by the verdict of the gods and goddesses, who, according to tradition, had assembled on the acropolis to decide between the rival claimants. From this early time, a time long before history begins, the name Athens had been given to the city. There is no tradition of a previous settlement in the place, and it is of especial interest to note that Athena, who in her ideal character represented the highest conceptions of the Greeks, was the goddess of the city where the intellectual elements of Greek life were chiefly to be developed.

Athena was the goddess of the upper air, and, like Apollo, was the interpreter of the thought of Zeus. But Athena was in still closer relation with Zeus than Apollo, for, according to the myth, she was produced from the head of the god, born from Zeus alone. This story symbolizes in a rude way the conception of Athena as representing the spirit, the will, the thought of Zeus. Athena was supposed to be the goddess of the pure elements of the air, those elements which have the most spiritual qualities, from which health is derived, and the purity and vigor of life. She was the spirit that inspired the lives of men with the pure aspirations toward the highest they could attain in their intelligence. One fact, not pointed out by the historian or the mythologist, is of especial interest, as illustrating the gradual development of a higher intelligence among the Greeks. By degrees the worship of Athena superseded that of Apollo in the minds of the more cultured and educated class. This is especially evident when we come to the climax of Greek history in the fifth century B. C., when Athens was endeavoring to shape the life of Greece more in accord with the ideal.

The Grecian story of the early inhabitants of Attica is so largely mythical that it is almost impossible to separate from it the facts. In Plato's *Critias* there is an account containing many of these ancient stories, and closing with these words : "Such were the ancient Athenians, and after this manner they righteously administered their own land and the rest of Hellas ; they were renowned all over Europe and Asia for the beauty of their persons, and for the many virtues of their souls, and were more famous than any of their contemporaries." This is entirely fabulous, but gives an impression of the pride of the later Athenians.

In prehistoric times Athens is said to have been governed by a series of mythical kings, whose authority was more or less modified by the councils. The kings, according to tradition, were succeeded by twelve archons, elected for life. This election of officers is interesting, for it shows an advanced social order. These life-archons, however, differed but little from the kings, and in 752 B. C., according to the accepted chronology, the term of office of archon was limited to ten years. The names of seven of these ten-year archons are recorded, but with Creon in 683 B. C. the archonship was made annual, and from this date the authentic Athenian chronology begins. There were nine of these archons elected annually, each with different duties to perform to the state. In 594 B. C. the great statesman, Solon, introduced his reforms, and from the middle of the sixth century B. C. the history is practically unbroken.

The debt which we owe to the Athenians is greater than to any other nation, for Athens was not only the mother of the chief arts and all good learning, but she was the savior of modern civilization. Mill has a very striking passage about Athens in his essay on Grote's *History of Greece* :—

"Though Grecian history is crowded with objects of interest, all others are eclipsed by Athens. Whatever in Greece most merits the gratitude of posterity, Athens possessed in fullest measure. If the Hellenic nation is in

history the main source and most conspicuous representative of progress, Athens may claim the same honorable position in regard to Greece itself ; for all the Greek elements of progress, in their highest culmination, were united in that illustrious city. This was not the effect of an original superiority of natural endowments in the Athenian mind. In the first exuberant outpourings of Grecian genius, Athens bore no more than her share, if even so much. . . . By degrees, however, the whole intellect of Greece, except the purely practical, gravitated to Athens, until, in the maturity of Grecian culture, all the great writers, speakers, and thinkers were educated, and nearly all of them were born and passed their lives, in that centre of enlightenment. Of the other Greek states, such as were oligarchically governed contributed little or nothing, except in a military point of view, to make Greece illustrious. Even those among them which, like Sparta, were to a degree successful in providing for stability, did nothing for progress, further than supplying the materials for study and experience to the great Athenian thinkers and their disciples. Of the other democracies, not one enjoyed the *eunomia*, the unimpeded authority of law, and freedom from factious violence, which were quite as characteristic of Athens as either her liberty or her genius ; and which, making life and property more secure than in any other part of the Grecian world, afforded the mental tranquillity which is also one of the conditions of high intellectual or imaginative achievement."

There is a beautiful description of Athens in Milton's "Paradise Regained," Book IV, verses 237-280, from which the following lines are taken : —

"Look once more, ere we leave this specular mount,
Westward, much nearer by southwest, behold
Where on the *Ægean* shore a city stands,
Built nobly, pure the air, and light the soil;
Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
And eloquence, native to famous wits,
Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,
City or suburban, studious walks and shades."

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The eighth and seventh centuries B. C. form a very important period in the life of the Greeks. They had now attained to that degree of individual development in which self-control is an essential feature; not the self-control of the ascetic temperament, but that rational self-control or wise temperance — *sophrosyne*, as the Greeks called it—which depends upon a reasonable view of life and the capabilities of the human understanding, and which leads to the finest exhibition of individual qualities, manifest not in the extinction, but in the training, of passion. This *sophrosyne* meant temperance in its noblest sense, the quality which enables a man to use his faculties to the best advantage, free from the excesses which exhaust the mind and body. The Greeks, unlike the Christians at one period of their history, held that the stifling or starving of the desires of man was an injury, and that the true treatment of one's character should be sought in a self-discipline quickened by the imagination and regulated by the reason. The result of this view, which was very widely held in the discipline of the Greek youth, was noticeable in the health of the race. It was exhibited in the cheerfulness and self-contained gaiety of men, in an equanimity of spirit in fronting whatever trial or danger might come. As a result of this temperance, the Greeks became more fully developed in body from generation to generation. This development was accompanied by a like growth in keenness of perceptions, and in the power of expressing the beauty ever present to their eyes in mankind and nature.

The inheritance of the Greeks from the races which preceded them in civilization was influential in shaping their conception of ideal and artistic forms. The earliest remains of purely Greek art show very close similarities to work that had been done in Egypt and in Asia. The Greeks at first were not very original, but at the beginning of the sixth century they had begun to attain powers of expression characteristic of their own genius, and distinct from that of Egypt or the Orient.

The earliest practice of those arts in which the Greeks afterward became proficient is ascribed to an artist celebrated in all the histories of Greece, — Butades, or Dibutades, who lived before the sixth century B. C., and who is said to have been the first of the Greeks to form figures out of clay. There are two or three other early artists belonging to this period before history actually begins. One of them, a familiar name to the Greeks, was Glaucus, of the island of Chios, said to have been the first to use the art of soldering plates of metal. Two other artists, Rhoicus and Theodorus, are said to have invented, at a very early time, bronze casting in works of metal. And there were two other artists joined in the Grecian story as the men who invented the chryselephantine process, — the working with gold and iron plates, — Dipoinus and Scyllis, who are said to have come from Crete, where the arts were practised earlier than on the mainland.

At the beginning of Greek art we find five places in which schools of art seem to have flourished. The first was Crete, then the cities of the Peloponnesus, Sicyon and Corinth on the isthmus, Athens and Sparta. All these schools resembled one another in the crudeness of their work; but those of Sicyon, Corinth, and Athens, soon left Crete and Sparta behind. They all found the great difficulty which exists among every people when the arts begin to be practised, — the great difficulty in giving expression to thought and sentiment, owing to the inability to deal with the material through which the expression is to take its form. This difficulty has been seen in the development of the arts among the races that preceded the Greeks. The Egyptian art is an art of hard stone; the Assyrian is an art of clay and soft limestone. The Greeks at first used bronze, and they too found great difficulty in expressing themselves. The first step in the progress of art is for the artist to attain a mastery over his material; so long as he fails to make the material obey his hand, just so long is he hampered in the expression of his

ideas. He can give but feeble utterance to the delicate or deep conceptions of his soul, unless he knows how to treat the material before him ; and in the history of the arts it took a very long time for man to acquire this mastery over material. Hence, the first works of Greek sculpture show the characteristic rudeness and stiffness of early art. The Apollo of Thera is one of the most interesting of these, being one of the earliest, and one in which the general traits of the group are well portrayed. The figure is stiff, and the little expression in the face is artificial. The legs are closely joined together ; the figure is unstable, and requires support from without. The dress of the hair is very formal, and all the lines of the limbs are awkward, on account of an imperfect knowledge of the body itself. At the beginning of the sixth century B. C., however, it was plain that the Greek stood in such a position that he would very soon become a great artist. Yet in the work of this century there was still a certain archaic stiffness, resulting from an imperfect mastery of the material. The sixth century was the great preliminary century that preceded the noble work of the Greeks. They had passed through the childish period of expression and puerile effort, and in the sixth century B. C. we find work that may be called masterly though not completely exceptional ; however, it gave promise of the great qualities which, in the fifth century B. C., were to render the Greek artists the unsurpassed of the unsurpassable artists of all times.

At the beginning of the sixth century Athens had not yet reached such a position of pre-eminence as to give her an unbounded confidence in her own future. It seems not unlikely that some city occupied a position in advance of Athens. Salamis was stronger in wealth, population, and all the sources of power, and was a constant menace to Athens ; and Megaris at the beginning of the sixth century was strong enough to be a rival for the leadership of that part of Greece. Corinth, too, was a city of older fame than Athens. Indeed,

there was comparatively little at this time to indicate the position that the "city of Athena" was so soon to attain as leader of the intellectual life of Greece.

Naturally enough, the political condition and civil state of Athens before the time of Solon is obscure. However, there is one very noticeable fact indicated by the so-called laws of Draco in 621 B. C. The legend connected with Draco's name shows very plainly that the notion of obedience to law as the safeguard of the rights of the community was already firmly established in the Athenian mind. The conception of the true nature of law was, however, very imperfect. There was an attempt in Draco's legislation to make good citizens by the penalty of fear; but such penalties always defeat themselves, and lead to a reaction. This seems to have been the case with the legislation of 621 B. C. However, the growth of the notion of legality shows how far the world had advanced from the early periods of despotism. Shortly after the laws of Draco were put into effect, a conspiracy broke out by which Cylon attempted to make himself despot of Athens. The plan failed, and Cylon and his fellow conspirators took refuge on the acropolis. Plutarch, in the account of Solon's life, says: "The conspirators had taken sanctuary in Minerva's temple, but Megacles, then archon, persuaded them to quit it and stand trial, under the notion that, if they tied a thread to the shrine of the goddess, and kept hold of it, they would still be under her protection. But when they came over against the temple of the Furies the thread broke of itself; upon which Megacles and his colleagues rushed upon them and seized them, as if they had lost their privilege. Such as were out of the temples were stoned; those that fled to the altars were cut in pieces there; and they only were spared who made application to the wives of the magistrates." The dread of the Athenians at what they supposed would befall them at this dishonor of their sanctuary of worship was confirmed by succeeding events. The Megarians made war and conquered a portion of Attica, and at the same time a

famine fell upon the Athenians. The great body of the people was alarmed, and the whole city disturbed with superstitious fears. This is interesting evidence that the Athenians had not yet reached the height of civilization where superstition yields to the power of intelligence. The Athenians seem to have lost heart, and to have thought that the city was under the curse of the goddess. At this crisis Solon advised that a certain Epimenides, of Crete, a man regarded as in close relation with the gods, and esteemed for his wisdom and piety, be asked to come to Athens and direct the people how to regain the divine favor. Epimenides bade the Athenians abate their fear, and modify their forms of worship, which had become extravagant. He undertook to purify and sanctify the city by certain public lustrations, conducted with great ceremony, to impress the imagination of the common people. He succeeded by this means in stilling the over-excited consciences of the Athenians, and in restoring to them the sense of being in happy and fortunate relations with their chief deity. This is the last instance at Athens of what may be called the influence of prehistoric conditions of thought. From this time forward Athens shows no lack of self-control. The city in general thereafter displayed the strength and steadiness of character which depend upon the exercise of enlightened intelligence in public affairs.

Philosophy had begun, the investigation of the origin and causes of things, and the study of man's relations to the universe. The Greeks had begun not merely to think about practical affairs, but to speculate on the principles from which these had arisen. The seven wise men, of whom Solon was one, were now devoting themselves to the study of the sources of truth ; and, while this speculative philosophy shows the progress of the general intellectual life of the people, the development of poetry proves the progress of their sentimental nature. Already even in this very early time we have something more than the beginning of lyric poetry, that poetry which expresses personal sentiment and passion. Among the names ever

after noted are those of Tyrtæus, Archilochus, Alcæus, and especially Sappho. Personal emotions and sentiments in their delicacy and depth appear in the fragments of Sappho's work. Her passions are still the passions which rule the hearts of men to-day, and her modes of expression are sufficient for the embodiment of feeling and strongest sentiment. The poems of Sappho are as soft and graceful as the most charming love poetry of to-day, and, though a little too sensual, have a freshness and sincerity of feeling which distinguish them from the morbid second-hand expressions of love found in some of the lyric poems of our own time.

Science, founded on induction, as well as a priori speculation, had begun, and was keeping pace with the advance of pure speculative philosophy. Thales himself, the founder of the Ionian school of philosophy, who tried to settle in a priori fashion the problem of the first cause of things, was not content with this, but gave himself up to the study of nature, mathematics, and astronomy, and advanced so far in his studies that, according to Herodotus, he predicted an eclipse of the sun.

Athens, then, after the banishment of her polluted citizens, and the recovery of her self-control, once more took up the regular course of political life; but the conditions in many respects were unfavorable. The Athenian constitution was aristocratic in its tendency, and gave great power to the few, leaving the masses in suffering and want. Many of the citizens of Attica mortgaged their lands; others gave up their children to a sort of slavery; and some left the country because they could not obtain anything more than a wretched subsistence. This was the principal cause of the rise of certain parties at enmity with each other: the Diakrioi, the lowest party, occupied the hills and mountains; the Pedieis were the oligarchs, and between the two were the Paraloi.

Solon was finally called upon to regulate the affairs of Athens, and, when asked afterward if he had given the people the best laws, said, "The best they were capable of re-

ceiving." The first thing that Solon did became famous under the title of *Seisachtheia*, a relief from debt. He laid down the principle that in the future no man should engage his body for security, so that he would be made the servant or slave of another. Having passed what we call an act of indemnity, he relieved the Athenians also from several of the penalties imposed by the legislation of Draco. Then he divided the people into classes according to their property, giving to each a proportional share in the government. Once, when asked what city had the best government and the best institutions, he replied, "That city where those who are not injured try to prevent the injustice of evil-doers as much as those who are."

Solon's judicial system was an elaborate one, and its fundamental principles were so rational that they remained during the greater part of the subsequent history of Athens as the basis on which the great judicial systems rested. He believed that neutrality in the affairs of a city was a crime, and, accordingly, he disfranchised all citizens who stood neutral in any uprising. Solon also gave to the citizens of Athens the right to dispose of their property as they pleased. Before his time the Athenians had made no wills, but their wealth and estates belonged to the family. Solon made every man's estate his own. He also made very necessary regulations in regard to the rites and ceremonies of religion, forbidding whatever was excessive and immodest, and teaching the people what was rational and beautiful. He did everything to encourage labor, showing that labor is honorable, and that on it civilization depends. The laws were to be established for one hundred years, and were set up in public to be discussed and criticized. Solon knew that it was impossible to satisfy all, so he obtained leave of absence for ten years, hoping that in the mean time his laws would become familiar to the people. He visited different countries, and met many famous men, among others Cræsus, the account of whom is so well given by Plutarch.

Solon may be said to have been a man in advance of his time, so far as that is true of any man; for every man is the product of his time, and exhibits the general tendency and development of his generation. Like few public men, Solon had the wisdom to keep himself free from party spirit and from pride in his own work. He probably did not believe that his laws would stand for a century, but it was best that the Athenians should regard them as fixed for a long period of time. Solon laid the foundation of the first democratic government of which we have record. There was a gradual growth of democratic institutions in other cities besides Athens, especially in those cities held more particularly by the Ionians. The Dorians, however, were more conservative, and still held to the rule of the aristocracy.

The year 586 B. C. is memorable because it brought to an end the so-called Sacred War, which had lasted for ten years, and had been undertaken by several of the states of Greece to stop the outrages which the people of Kirrha had practised on pilgrims and others who resorted to Delphi. The close of the war led to a strengthening and extension of the powers of the oracle of Apollo. The Pythian games, celebrated in this year near Delphi, were more dignified and splendid than ever before; and from this date began what is called the Pythian era, one by which in part the Athenians regulated their calendar. The Pythian era, however, never superseded the Olympian era, and never obtained the same general acceptance.

Colonization had been very active during the preceding century, but was now falling off, as the cities in Greece attained to self-government. In 582 B. C., Agrigentum, one of the most important of the Greek colonies in Sicily, was founded. The colonies are important in the history of Greece, not only because they spread Greek culture where otherwise it would not have taken root, but because the most important colonies became separate centres of intellectual life, and brought about that competition among the various

members of the Hellenic family, which tended to the development of all Greek intelligence.

An important event which took place at Athens in 566 B. C. was the establishment of games under the auspices of Athena. Contests had already been instituted in honor of Zeus; the Isthmian games were in honor of Poseidon, and the Pythian in honor of Apollo; those in honor of Athena were called the Pan-Athenaia, — the games of Athena for all the Greeks, and not for the Athenians alone. They did not become as important as the Olympic or Pythian games, but they awakened rivalry in athletics, and quickened local patriotism.

In 560 B. C. the great political change in Athens of the century took place. Party strife broke out afresh between the aristocracy, the democracy, and the middle party. Peisistratus led the aristocracy, and after a time succeeded in raising himself to the supreme power, which he held for more than thirty years. Under him Athens came nearer to the modern city in its condition and general aspect than any previous community.

An important event in 559 B. C. was the beginning of the reign of Cyrus over the western part of the region once held by the Babylonian and Assyrian kingdoms. Cyrus was a man of great power, with qualities that brought him in close sympathy with the Greeks themselves. He was firm in administering justice over a very large territory, and united his empire in such a way that his successors were able to become the great rivals of the Greeks.

In 548 B. C. the burning of the temple of Delphi took place, an event which very deeply affected the imagination of all the Greeks. Soon afterward, a very noted family, the Alcmaeonidæ, who had been banished from Athens, owing to their treatment of Cylon and his fellow-conspirators, obtained permission to rebuild the temple at their own cost, as an expiation for their sin in polluting the city. The rebuilding of the temple was of importance, not only in the political

history, but also in the development of the art of architecture. While the remains of the temple are not sufficient to enable one to trace in regular sequence the progress of refinement of the Doric and Ionic orders, yet they present the most complete and characteristic work of architecture which the Greeks had up to this time erected.

While there was this activity of political life inside and outside of Greece, there was an equal activity in the growth of Greek art and literature. It is especially noticeable that the expression of purely individual or personal feeling took a new development at this time. The author is no longer an epic writer; it is no longer sufficient for him to narrate the deeds of others, or, like Hesiod, to tell stories of the gods. Personal sentiment is very clearly marked in the poetry of Sappho and the later lyric writers; but in the middle of the fifth century we find the delicately modulated poet Anacreon, whose graceful and elegant verses, if written to-day, would put to shame Mr. Austin Dobson and his followers. Anacreon wrote about 560-530 B. C., and contemporaneous with him was a poet of a very different order, Theognis, a man who belonged to Megara, whose verses represent, even more clearly than those of Anacreon, the personal characteristics of the author. But his poems are too bitter; they have not the sweetness and delicacy of touch of those of Anacreon.

The great progress of the intellectual life of the Greeks is also marked by the fact that writers began to compose works of prose. Poetry is the most natural and most primitive form of expression; but a good prose style is of late attainment in the history of a race. Thespis is said to have been the first of the prose writers, but of his work scarcely a fragment remains. The title of one of his writings was "Nature and the Gods," which seems to have been a philosophical treatise. Thespis is said to have been the teacher of Pythagoras, one of the deepest thinkers Greece ever produced. We know more of Thespis by tradition than by his actual work; and in 535 B. C. his first tragedy is said to have been pro-

duced. This marks a still further development of literature, for tragedy is based on the interests of mankind in the various relations of life, and is used for the conveyance of a moral. When one thinks of the sequence of dramatic work which followed this first tragedy, one's admiration for the Greek character and intelligence rises very high: the Greek tragedy, from Thespis down to Euripides, is as precious as any that has been produced in all ages of literary work.

The general progress of thought in Greece during the sixth century was manifested not merely in a new literary activity, and in the quickening of the historical sense; not merely in the improvement of the position of the workmen, and the application of the principles of art to manufactures; but it was shown also in a very striking way in the development of the other great arts of expression. Sculpture and architecture advanced with great strides, and a very interesting feature of their progress was the increased use of marble. The marble, which is the material par excellence of the Greeks, was derived mainly from the islands between Greece and the Ionian coast of Asia Minor, and especially from the quarries on the islands of Naxos and Paros. Paros is an island of marble. The quality which distinguishes Parian marble from every other is its fineness of grain and translucency, which is very striking when the marble is first taken from the quarry. This quality is gradually lost upon exposure to the air, changing, when polished, however, to a softness and richness of surface which no other marble seems capable of receiving. There was another variety of marble especially used in Athenian architecture, known as the Pentelican marble, from which the Parthenon and other temples on the acropolis were built. The sculptor who used the beautiful Parian marble was helped by it in the expression of his sentiment and thought; the felicity of the conjunction between the material and the genius of the artist is very noticeable in the history of Greek art. Through the whole century, however, from Solon down to Cleisthenes, the

progress in Greek sculpture was very slow. All the work of this century is grouped under the general head archaic, for it shows that the artist had not yet mastered the material so as to express the conception in his soul. The stiffness of the older work, which perhaps took its pattern from the sculpture of Egypt, was, however, gradually yielding to ease and freedom. Before the end of the century it had become common to adorn the architecture with sculptured figures, partly in the round, partly in relief; and the grouping of the figures was leading up to the splendid works of the next century, when scenes of dramatic action were to be represented by numerous figures, all collected around one central point of interest.

CHAPTER VII.

GREECE (*continued*).

THE earliest Greek temples were primitive in form and adornment. At first they were mere rectangular buildings, with an entrance, generally at the eastern end, and an altar or statue of the deity within the naos or temple. The architectural term for this simple construction is cella, which was given by the writer from whom have come most of the terms in use, Vitruvius, — who lived in the time of Augustine. But this cella, or naos, was too simple for the purpose of ornamentation; and one of the early and favorite styles of the Greeks was the cella in antis, formed with the side walls of the temple projecting in front of the cella and thickened at the end, forming the anti. The entrance was on this side, and in front of the door were columns between the anti. This is the earliest instance of the use of columns of the Greek orders in architecture. These buildings were usually erected on platforms with three steps, and were not intended, like our churches, to hold a multitude of worshippers; the popular worship was generally before an altar erected outside the temple.

The next form, a development of this, used as early as the sixth century, was the naos prostylos, — that is, the naos with four columns in front, the anti walls being reduced. This was a very attractive form, but it had the disadvantage that only one end was ornamented with columns. The next step was the placing of columns at both ends, — the naos amphiprostylos, which admits of a great variety of form. Built in the sixth century also were temples of still more

elaborate construction, — peripteral temples, as they were called, with columns on all sides. The naos remained the same as before, its walls enclosing the especially sacred abode of the divinity, and the columns supporting the roof of the naos like a canopy. It is sometimes supposed that this style of building was lighted through the roof, since there were no windows in the walls; hence the term hypæthron. However, a sufficient number of parts of the roof and ceiling have never been found to enable one to determine the precise construction of these portions of the building. The objections to any opening in the roof are obvious, and it is now thought that the temple was dimly lighted by lamps.

As the taste for splendor increased among the Greeks, the peripteral form was succeeded by the dipteral, which had a double row of columns at either end. This style was generally distinguished by the term pseudo-dipteral, having a double row of columns on two sides only. The temple retained its original shape, but the cella or naos had become larger, sometimes measuring three hundred feet by one hundred feet or more. This temple chamber was itself adorned with columns used for supporting the gallery; while the outer columns were usually of the Doric order, the inner ones were in many cases Ionic.

The next development of the temple was the real dipteral style, with two rows of columns on all four sides, the opposite ends of the temple being adorned with columns of a similar order. Though the elements of the plan of these Greek temples were simple, yet they admitted of an unlimited variety and exquisiteness of arrangement. Their principles were such that the architects who have imitated Greek work have been unable to comprehend them. When the Madeleine was erected in Paris, it was intended to exhibit the character and beauty of a Greek temple. It is a very striking building, but it does not give one the impression of great beauty, for it was built mechanically, on a system of exact measurements; while one may say that the Greek buildings were

built vitally, with differences of system and arrangement, which, though slight, are sufficient not only to give an impression of the activity of the minds of the builders, but also to present the appearance of animation which no building of exact measurements can give. Now, in the Madeleine, which was supposed to imitate the Greek temple, every column is set precisely to the same centre with the column in range with it, and the columns are placed at exactly the same distances apart. But in the best of the Greek buildings no two of the columns are exactly the same distance from each other, and no two in front of each other are set on precisely the same centre. They are set so near the same centre, however, that the eye does not note the difference as a disagreeable irregularity, and the general impression on the eye and mind is that of vital variety.

The Doric temple, as it stood when the order had been fully developed, rested on a very solid foundation, which lifted the walls and columns of the temple from the level of the soil. The foundations were laid deep, and with a carefulness and exquisiteness which rivalled that exhibited in the visible parts of the buildings. There was need of this care, for the upper part was to have a precision which could not otherwise be attained. When the building was set upon a rock, as in the case of the temples on the acropolis, the surface of the rock was leveled; but if any part of the rock fell off so that it did not present a level surface, the deficiency was supplied by layers of hewn stone laid very carefully, as is the case with part of the foundation of the Parthenon. There were three steps which formed the base of the building, or stylobate, as it is called, while the rougher part beneath is sometimes spoken of as the stereobate. These steps were too high for easy ascent, and so shorter steps were interpolated, for the convenience of those who had business about the temple, or who visited the temple to witness the ceremonies. The steps generally have a very slight slope, so slight that it would not be noticed until pointed out.

The slope is generally from within outward, that any water may flow off. In some cases there is a little channel hollowed out for the same purpose, just under the edge of the upper step. The blocks that form the stylobate were so carefully fitted together that no mortar was necessary. When an additional security was desired, the blocks were fastened together by clamps of iron of different forms. The whole stylobate is formed as if it were the segment of an infinite sphere; that is, there is no perfectly horizontal line in the base. The intention seems to have been to make the floor very slightly spherical. This is illustrated by what is called the curve of the horizontals; and, if one stands at the southern corner of the eastern front of the Parthenon, and looks along the line of the steps, he will find that there is a slight rise of this line at the middle, of about two inches, which gives in one hundred feet a curve so gradual that it is nowhere over five one hundredths of a foot. This curve, which seems to have belonged to the floor of the whole building, was apparently intended not merely for purposes of utility, but also to correct certain optical impressions. It is a fact that a long line not supported by any cross lines seems to sag, and it was probably to correct this effect that the curve of the horizontal line was introduced.

When the stylobate was completed, the walls of the cella were erected upon it. They were thoroughly built, but the columns claim a greater attention. There is only one exception to the statement that the number of columns on the eastern and western ends of a temple was always an even number, and the number along the sides an odd number. With an even number of columns, the opening came exactly in the middle of the building; with an odd number, a column would come in the middle, and to the Greeks this was sufficient to indicate that at one of the other ends the entrance was to be found.

The column was never monolithic, that is, of a single stone. The Greeks had discovered that it was useless to use enor-

mous masses of material, when the same effect could be obtained with separate pieces of stone, which could easily be handled and moved. A column thirty feet high would be made up of a series of ten pieces or drums. These were not all of the same circumference, for there was a regular diminution in size from the bottom to the top, corresponding to mathematical principles. The columns were not precisely vertical, but all inclined slightly inward. If one were to construct these buildings on an infinite scale, the columns would finally meet at the top. Slightly inclined as these columns are, they give to the eye the impression of a buttress, and so obviate the sense of weakness which a perfectly straight column imparts. Then, too, the curved outline of the column gave it an organic effect. This curve is generally greatest at about the middle of the height, but nowhere does it interfere with the diminution in the size of the column, which in no part is larger round than at the base. This curve of the column is called the entasis, from the Greek word meaning the bending of a bow.

The Greek column is not smooth, but always has a regular number of flutings. In the earlier buildings there are sometimes sixteen of these, but the number which the Greeks apparently came to regard as the best is twenty. Some few are constructed with twenty-four flutings. These flutings are segments of circles, and meet in sharp edges or arrises, as they are called. The object of the flutings and the sharp edges by which they were separated from one another, was to increase the quality of vivacity and animation in the building. Had these columns been simply the parts of great cones, smooth and round, they would have presented no sharp line distinguishing them from the wall behind, supposing the wall to be of the same material as the column. But, by giving this succession of flutings to the column, there is a constant play of light and shade on the surface, and from every point of view a sharp edge is visible. There could have been no construction more fitted to give the pleasing variety which

the eye demands, and to distinguish sharply the various features of the curve of the column. The inclination of the column, the entasis, the fluting sharply defining its outline, all show the fine power of the Greek mind, by which the dull elements received from the past were infused with life.

Near the top of the column is an incision, which apparently had a distinct æsthetic purpose. The lines of the column are sharply accentuated and perpendicular, but the column itself is to support a horizontal mass. Hence, some sort of a transition was necessary to unite the two in an organic structure, and to prevent the difference of direction of the main lines from being offensive to the eye. The first step toward this harmony was the incision, by which the perpendicular lines of the column were delicately yet absolutely broken. The fluting is continued above the incision, and this little space at the top is called the neck of the column, or hypotrachelion.

The top of the column runs into a cushion-like member, the echinus, so called because of its resemblance to the sea urchin. The echinus, in the older buildings of the Greeks, was much heavier and less elastic than in the Propylæa and Parthenon, where the curve attained a quality of life and animation which can hardly be surpassed.

The abacus is the square plate placed horizontally above the echinus; and the latter, by combining in itself both perpendicular and horizontal lines, forms a transition between the column and the abacus. The hypotrachelion takes up the perpendicular lines, and brings them down to the incision which separates it from the rest of the column. At the base of the echinus there were generally three rings, made in different ways; their object was probably to form a series of corresponding lines, which should be, as it were, the echo of the lines in the fluting of the column.

The column, with its many different features, accordingly became a difficult piece of construction. To insure the perfection of the fluting, the entasis, and the regular diminution

in the size of the column, the work could not be done by careless workmen, nor without some elaborate device for putting the blocks into place. In any of the buildings of the fifth century the edge of every fluting in the column is so nearly perfect that there is found scarcely the variation of one thousandth of an inch from the absolute curve in thirty or forty feet of the height of the column. The perfection of the workmanship is as great as that of the conception itself.

A column that inclined inward would tend to present a sloping surface at the top, if no means were taken to counteract it. Now, the top must be flat, and the Greek builder secured this in a very exquisite way. The lowest drum of the column was first set in place; this was not the segment of a perfect cone, for the vertical distance along one side was greater than along the other, causing the upper surface to slant a little. The lower face of the next drum was sloped to match the first one, and the column was therefore inclined from the very bottom. The slope of the drum at the very top of the column was in an opposite direction to the others, however, being from within outward, so that, when the drum was set in place, its upper surface presented a perfectly flat bed, on which the neck of the column rested.

In order to avoid the danger of fracturing the fluting in putting the columns into place, the Greek architect left on the bottom of the lowest drum a very thin plate, about one sixteenth of an inch in thickness, which came out nearly to the circumference of the drum. This is just sufficient to prevent the drum from crowding down on the edge of the fluting. But the drums were fluted before they were set up, and hence their edges were exposed to danger as the blocks were hoisted into place; to prevent this, it was the custom to wind the drums with straw. So perfect was the work, so admirable the joints between the drums of the column, that in some cases, by long resting of one piece upon another, the marble has crystallized across the original joint. This beauty and perfection was secured by a device similar to that used in the

joints of the stone-work of the stylobate. There was a narrow band left on the outer circle of the drum, which was highly polished, and a circle at the centre was also made very smooth, the parts between being merely picked with the chisel. At the centre of the drum a hole was made, and in it was set a bit of wood shaped like a pyramid, which fitted into a socket in the drum next above it. The drum was lifted into place by a rope passed around two projecting bits of the marble, called "ears," and the upper drum, by revolving about the pin, was rubbed on the lower drum till all the elevations

the rough surface were removed, the dust formed filling up the spaces.

Above the column and resting on the abacus is the flat beam of marble known as the epistyle, which supports the members above it. At its upper surface the epistyle has a projecting band, called the regula or rule, with which are connected the plates over the centre of each column and each intercolumnar space. On the under surface of the plates are what are known as the drops. These all represent old wooden structures. The regula was the strip fastened on the top of the wooden beams (typified by the epistyle), to throw off the water. The drops are apparently types of true nails formerly used to fasten the ornamental plates to the regula. In all the noble buildings the epistyle is quite plain, the only ornaments being the regula, with the plates and their drops.

The next member above the epistyle is the frieze, which was highly ornamented. It was divided into two principal parts, the triglyphs and the metopes. The triglyph was the representative in stone of the ends of the beams that supported the roof of the old wooden buildings. It was so called because it had three perpendicular grooves on its surface, two complete grooves, and a half groove partly replacing each of the side edges. The triglyphs were set above the plates, whose nails in the old wooden buildings may have held the triglyphs in place. These grooves in the triglyphs had an

important æsthetic effect, for they continued the perpendicular lines of the fluting of the columns. Between the triglyphs were the metopes, — the name signifying “between the beams.” In the earlier buildings these were left as openings through the wall, but in later times the spaces were filled with figures in high relief

Above the frieze came the cornice, a projecting member stretching out far over the frieze and the epistyle. The cornice was made of blocks running far into the building. It was necessary to make the cornice very firm, because on it were to rest those figures which in the developed Doric temple form its chief sculptured ornaments, and fill that triangular space at the top of the building, the pediment, with scenes which were in harmony with the intent of the temple itself. The sculpture represented some dramatic incident in the life or mythology of the builders of the temple, or of the god to whom it was dedicated. The under surface of the cornice was adorned with plates twice as numerous as those connected with the regula, and these were also hung with drops.

The triglyphs were placed over the middle of the columns and the intercolumniations, as has been stated. This arrangement, however, if completely carried out, would have left a small space at the angle of the temple for an imperfect metope, and would have been a feeble closing of the corner, where strength is especially required. To obviate this difficulty, the last triglyph was placed at the corner of the temple, over the edge of the column and not over its centre, thus making the adjoining metope wider than the others. In rare cases the second triglyph is a little nearer the angle of the building than it should be ; but generally the whole difference caused by the change in position of the last triglyph is made up by the increased breadth of a single metope.

The roof of the temple was made sloping, and the portion of wall included between the sloping lines is called the tympanon ; this forms a background for the pediment. In

all the better buildings of the Greeks, this wall is colored deep red, in order to bring out more plainly the white sculptured figures placed on the upper surface of the cornice. At the edge of the roof were the gutters to carry off the water, and at the angles and ridges of the building ornaments were erected, called acroteria. At the very summit of the temple were ornamental, flower-like designs, called anthemia, which gave a beautiful finish to the upper lines of the building against the sky. The roof was covered with terra-cotta tiles, or in some cases with marble. These were so shaped as to fasten together, their joints being covered with tiles of a different shape, to keep out the rain. Along the edges of the roof, and especially at the angles, were lion's heads, forming spouts to the gutters.

Such are the main features in the construction of a Doric temple ; but, to understand the full artistic value of the different parts of the building, the relation between the architecture and the sculpture must be considered. Sculpture was the chief ornament of the architecture, but there is an essential difference in the principles of the two arts. Architecture is an art of determined proportions, with regular lines of a geometric character, in which the perpendicular and horizontal prevail. Sculpture, on the other hand, is an art of varying proportions, and of irregularity of lines. The question arose, How were these two arts, which have such different effects on the eye, to be so combined that the contrast between them should not be too strong, and thus cause separation rather than union in the parts of the building? This result was effected in a very ingenious way. The columns, from the various qualities which they possess, partake of a highly organic character, and share in a low degree the properties of sculpture. Every element in them is something more than geometrical ; the curves of the column suggest, at least, the possibility of another art, — an art based on indefinite proportions. The essential principle of architecture, that of fixed proportion and of geometric lines, is

presented in the triglyphs, while in the metopes sculpture is introduced, thrown a little back. It is only the outer surface of the sculpture that reaches the level of the triglyphs, and the figures used are generally those in which perpendicular or horizontal lines are strongly marked. The figures are usually standing erect or reclining on the ground, giving a certain architectural quality to this part of the sculpture. The direction is so constant, and the union of the sculptured figures of the metope with the lines of the triglyph is so close, that it brings the two different arts into intimate relations with each other. The sculpture occupies the part of the frieze that might have been left vacant without detracting from the architectural strength; hence the eye and the mind are content with its introduction for the purpose of ornament. These figures in the metope prepare the eye for the free sculptured groups on the cornice, which partake in no degree of the nature of architecture, but form its chief ornament. To prevent the cornice from throwing a perfectly even shadow upon the frieze, its lower edge was broken by the drops already mentioned, and thus there is no sharp horizontal line dividing the upper part of the temple.

There is very little doubt that color was largely used in the architecture. There was not merely the deep red color of the tympanon to bring out the figures of the pediment, but the lines of the capital of the column were reinforced by paint, and very frequently the echinus was ornamented with a delicately painted pattern. The abacus and the epistyle were left plain; the grooves in the triglyphs were usually colored a deep blue, while the background of the metope was painted red. Metal ornaments were introduced among the figures of the metope, and probably of the pediment, which were sometimes painted to bring out their most prominent lines.

So much for the exterior of a Doric temple. Now, passing between the outer columns on the eastern end, one comes to a passageway ten or eleven feet wide, known as the pter-

oma, beyond which is a step on which rose another series of columns. These inner columns exist only on the ends of the temple, and support an inner entablature, distinguished from what is called the entablature of the building. The inner entablature is composed of epistyle and frieze similar to the outer, except that there are no triglyphs, and the cornice is not brought out so as to overshadow the lower parts of the building. A still narrower passage separates the inner row of columns from the wall of that chamber, the cella, which in some buildings was divided into two parts, one the naos proper, the other more remotely connected with the worship of the deity. In the case of the Parthenon this latter room was the treasury of Athens, where the public funds were stored under the protection of the goddess. No remains of doors have been handed down, but the door frames that are left exhibit the exquisite sense of the Greeks in proportion and detail of ornamentation. The marks on the floors of the various temples show that the doors swung inward quite back to the wall, and there is some reason to suppose that there was a metal grating in the upper part of the door, to admit light to the chamber when the door was closed. The ceiling was also of great beauty; that of the pteroma was made of slabs of marble carved with patterns known as cofferings. The different depths to which the geometric designs are cut have a great value in making the slabs appear not as dead marble, but animated with a variety of shade, like the rest of the building. The floor of the temples was of beautiful blocks of marble firmly laid, not forming a joint with the wall, but running a short distance under it. Where the blocks are placed under the columns they are so arranged in the best buildings as to be joined under the very centre of the column. In no part of the building is seen any lack of thought in the arrangement, whether one studies the construction alone, or combines the construction with the æsthetic elements. There is nothing which cannot be accounted for on principle, — nothing superfluous;

everything was intended for a definite end, and every part of the temple fulfils the function for which it was built.

NOTE. — For diagrams showing the form and arrangement of the parts of a Doric temple, see Reber's *History of Ancient Art*, pp. 203-211; Collignon's *Manual of Greek Archæology*, pp. 43-47; etc.

CHAPTER VIII.

GREECE (*continued*).

NEAR the close of the sixth century B. C., the history of Greece becomes especially interesting on account of the relations with Persia. The Persians were an Aryan race, distant brothers in blood of the Greek and Latin races, and of ourselves. At the time of their migration, instead of wandering westward, like the Italians and Greeks, the Persians settled finally in the mountains south of the Caspian Sea. Here they conquered the Medes, a race probably of the same original stock, and in the sixth century B. C. established themselves as the most vigorous, war-like, and intelligent of the races in middle Asia. The same qualities of character distinguished both the Greeks and the Persians, but the latter gradually came under the influence of Eastern customs; they adopted a mode of government under which the great mass of the people were subject to the rule of one man, an Oriental despotism, and thus lost hold of the principle that was the root of the Greek progress in civilization, — the principle of the equal rights of all members of the community. Their religion was not one of the old forms of belief, but a rational conception of the world as under the influence of two great forces, — good and evil. They worshipped the good, and tried to conciliate the bad. The account which Herodotus gives of the Persians leads to a very high opinion of their character. They were eminently a respectable race, and had not possessed control over their empire long enough to be thoroughly corrupted by the exercise of unlimited power. One striking sentence of Herodotus is that the

Persians looked on themselves as very greatly superior in all respects to the rest of mankind, regarding others as approaching to excellence in proportion as they dwelt near to them. This represents a condition of feeling that has belonged to all great races, and has exercised a very considerable force in the shaping of modern civilization. The danger is that it degenerates into mere vanity, and thus becomes a source of weakness rather than strength. But if national pride rests on a true moral foundation, it may be the force holding the nation up to a high standard.

One of the most interesting records of the Persians in regard to their own feelings is found in the inscription that Darius wrote upon a rock at Behistun, on the western frontier of the Medes, in that part of the country now known as Armenia. A brief mention of it has been made in a previous chapter. It is a great triumphal tablet, which was engraved about 515 B. C., on the face of a high rock. It is an inscription about Darius himself, and contains about one thousand lines of cuneiform writing, in three different languages. The contents of the inscription are interesting, even if they illustrate nothing else than the temper of the Persians at that time. The following are a few of the sentences (Records of the Past, Vol. I.) :—

“Says Darius the king: Thou, whoever may be king hereafter, exert thyself to put down lying; the man who may be a liar, him utterly destroy. If thou shalt thus observe, my country shall remain entire.

“Says Darius the king: This is what I have done. Under the favor of Ormazd have I always acted. Thou, whoever hereafter mayest peruse this tablet, let not that which has been done by me seem to thee to have been falsely recorded.

“Says Darius the king: On this account Ormazd brought help to me, and the other gods which are, (because) I was not wicked, nor was I a liar, nor was I a tyrant, neither I nor any of my race. I have obeyed the laws, and the

rights and customs I have not violated. Whoever labored for my family, him have I cherished and protected ; he who was hostile to me, him have I utterly destroyed."

It is very interesting to compare this with the account which Herodotus gives of the Persians. The fact that the Persians under Darius set a very high regard upon truth, makes it seem that they had attained to a high moral character, and hence were not unworthy antagonists of the Greeks. It is always a matter of importance to a race, that, if it be compelled to fight, its adversaries should be men whom it can respect, for then victory and defeat are both exalted : victory, because won over an enemy whose character makes victory glorious ; defeat, because suffered at the hands of worthy antagonists. The Persians were enemies whom the Greeks respected, not alone on account of their wealth and physical power, but also on account of their intelligence.

We have now come to a period when the history of Greece becomes of very great importance in the progress of civilization. The Persians had already reached the Mediterranean, and had become masters of Egypt and Cyprus on the south, and Thrace on the north. The great power of Persia was rising like a threatening cloud, and each year seemed to reach nearer and nearer to the little state which alone of the civilized nations of the time remained outside of the Persian Empire. But this imminent danger, instead of uniting the Greeks in a common cause, stimulated for a time the selfish indifference of the separate states, Thebes, Corinth, Sparta, Athens, and the rest, each trying to secure its own position, and make friends with the Persians. The Spartans had for a considerable time held the position of ruling state in national affairs. Croesus had sought alliance with Sparta against the Persians, believing that if he secured Sparta it would be the same as securing the help of the whole Grecian nation. This position of Sparta had become more confirmed during the last years of the sixth century ; and when in 510 B. C. Athens made her constitution more popular, Sparta

undertook to interfere, and, marching into Attica, took possession of Athens for a while. Peace was restored, but the Athenians were so apprehensive of the Spartan power that they applied for help from the Persians. This was granted on the condition that the Athenians offer earth and water as symbols of their recognition of Persian dominion. The refusal of the Athenians to do this led to harder feelings on the part of the Persians toward Athens than toward any other state of Greece.

Meanwhile the Athenians were in trouble with all the neighboring cities ; they had no sympathetic friends, no supporters anywhere. The rapid development of the Athenians, both politically and morally, during the preceding century, had aroused the jealousy of the other Greek states. The new constitution, developed by the reforms of Cleisthenes, was appealing to the people, and binding them closer together. Every man felt the interest of the city part of his own personal interest, and there is no more interesting feature of this period than the enormous energy and vitality which Athens exhibited. The democracy of Athens has for the most part been greatly misunderstood and misrepresented. It has been the practice of states that based their institutions on principles other than those of freedom and equality, to represent these principles in the Athenian life as leading to ill results. Moreover, the later writers among the Athenians, men of great influence, like Plato, did not appreciate the character or the history of the people. Plato especially failed to recognize the virtue of the Athenians, partly on account of his own idealistic temperament, and partly because he lived at a time when the evil characteristics of democratic institutions were manifest at Athens, in the period of exhaustion and decline. However, if one reads the history of the people intently, with a real understanding of its significance, one cannot fail to be impressed with the strength of the Athenian progress in its advance, the stability rather than the instability of Athenian institutions, and the fact that they are a proof of the high

moral quality of the people who were able to invent and maintain them so long.

It was while Athens was in this condition of hostility to her neighbors, that, in 501 or 502 B. C., the Ionian cities of Asia Minor revolted from the Persian rule. The Persians were at first defeated, but they soon rallied, and their forces were so great that it was a hopeless contest from the beginning. The Ionians sought aid from Sparta, which was refused. They then applied to Athens. Athens, bound to the Ionians by her position and previous history more closely than the rest, agreed to assist them, and in 499 B. C. sent twenty vessels, which were afterward reinforced by five others from Eretria, a city on the island of Eubœa. The Athenians determined to make a bold stroke; they landed on the sea-coast, not far from Sardis, the most important city occupied by the Persians, famous and rich, the seat of the Persian satrap. Suddenly descending upon the city, they set fire to it, and the greater part was burned. They then retreated with slight loss to their boats, and returned to Athens. The war was continued between the Ionians and the Persians for about five years, with varying fortune; the Persians, however, gradually gained the ascendancy, and finally the insurrection ended by the fall of Miletus, where it had begun. The people were expelled and the city absolutely destroyed, — a most terrible fate. It was about 494 B. C. that the revolt ended. The Persian power was now more complete than ever before; their fleet swept the waters of the Ægean, all the large islands were in their power, — everything was Persian.

The cloud that had long been gathering over Greece was now about to burst, and its full force was to be felt at Athens; King Darius was determined to have his revenge on the Athenians for the insult at Sardis. Between 497 and 494 B. C. an expedition was fitted out, under the command of Mardonius, the son-in-law of Darius. The land forces marched across the Hellespont, through Thrace, and reached Macedonia; but the fleet, carrying a large part of the army,

was wrecked off Thrace, and the whole expedition was compelled to return.

The Greeks at this time were even more divided than ever. A great number thought that it was best to submit to Persia, rather than run the risk of a hopeless struggle, and this disposition was increased by the declarations of the oracle at Delphi. Whether the guardians of the temple were corrupted by Persian gold, or whether they regarded the conflict with Persia as having but one inevitable end, and were desirous of saving Greece from the misery of the struggle, cannot be determined; but, instead of encouraging the people by their bravery and energy, the replies of the oracle were dubious in tone, or distinctly in favor of submitting to Persia. This undoubtedly had a great effect on the feeling and sentiment of the Greeks, for the authority of the oracle had not yet been weakened.

It was in 492 B. C. that Darius determined to make such preparations that his army would be practically invincible. First, however, he sent heralds to Greece, to demand the tokens of submission. Many of the cities, among others Thebes and Ægina, submitted to Persia; but the heralds sent to Sparta excited such wrath and indignation among the people that they were seized and put to death, showing a tremendous intensity of feeling, for the inviolability of the herald was a principle deeply rooted in the public conscience. In consequence of this act, the two cities, Athens and Sparta, were more closely united; and Athens, recognizing the headship of Sparta in the affairs of the nation, sent ambassadors to complain of the action of Ægina as treasonable to Hellas. The application was successful, and Ægina was compelled to cease from any open sympathy with the Persians. As far as we know, this was the first manifestation on the part of the Greeks that they were an aggregate body with Sparta at the head, each member being under obligation to the whole.

Darius had now gathered an immense force on the Ionian coast, under the command of Datis. The fleet sailed across

the Ægean, taking possession of all the islands with very little resistance, and closing around Athens, so that there could be no hope of aid from any neighboring power. Eretria was captured, and the people reduced to slavery. The fleet then gathered on the eastern coast of Attica, and prepared to land on the plain of Marathon. This was in 490 B. C. The Athenians, hoping for aid from Sparta, sent a messenger to tell them of the arrival of the Persians. But the Spartans were engaged in a religious festival; it was a day, according to their religious forms, on which they were not allowed to engage in any expedition; and the messenger brought back word that the Spartans were coming, but were not yet ready. This excuse may have been genuine; yet, such were the qualities shown by the Spartans on other occasions, that one cannot be sure that they were not willing that Athens should be conquered by Persia.

Every one knows the story of Marathon; it is one of the great historic events of the world's history, — one which will forever inspire men to deeds of bravery. The ten thousand Athenians, under the command of Miltiades, took their position on the hills above the plain, and were joined by a little band of men from Platæa, the only city that came to the aid of Athens at this time. The battle was brief; the Persians were routed, and fled to their ships. Many of the Athenians had fallen, but the Persian dead were numbered by thousands. The battle ended in a greater thing than the mere defeat of the Persians; it ended in inspiring the whole Athenian people to greater deeds. They had saved not only themselves, but all Greece; they felt an exaltation that was natural; and, when the shattered army of Datis slunk away, the Athenians drew a long breath, — a breath of inspiration for future times. But there was danger of treachery at Athens even at this moment. The army marched back to the city, and the Persian fleet, that had sailed round in the hope of reaching the city in advance of the army, turned their prows eastward and disappeared. The Greeks felt that for a time at least they were safe.

Miltiades, Themistocles and Aristeides, a remarkable group of men, took the lead at Athens at this time. Their characters are very marked, and strikingly different. Miltiades, the hero of Marathon, was of the old stock of the Athenians ; his traditions were of the old aristocracy, yet he held to the democracy, and was greatly trusted. Themistocles and Aristeides were types of democratic statesmen. The marked trait of Aristeides, which gave him a very controlling influence with the Greeks at this time, and caused him to be universally respected, was the probity of his character. The Persians not infrequently bought leading Greeks, but Aristeides was above any such temptation. He was a man heartily in sympathy with the popular disposition, and did what he could to strengthen and improve the popular institutions. Themistocles was a man of vivid genius and great vitality of mind, an orator unsurpassed at that time ; a man able to treat whatever condition might arise, able to control and command men. He was the pattern of an unscrupulous politician of the higher order, — a man of genius in the democracy. Excellent accounts of these men are given in Plutarch's *Lives* and Grote's *History of Greece*, Vol. II., chap. 36.

Miltiades, who had gained an immense repute by having the chief command at Marathon, soon undertook an expedition to Paros for private ends, using a large fleet fitted out at the expense of the state. His expedition failed ; and the indignant Athenians brought him to trial, and condemned him to pay a very heavy fine. Unable to furnish the amount, Miltiades was cast into prison, where he died soon after from the effects of a wound received on the expedition. The fine was afterwards paid by his son Cimon, who became one of the leading men of Athens.

In the year after the battle of Marathon Aristeides was made chief archon at Athens, and his rivalry with Themistocles soon displayed itself. Aristeides had a conservative temperament, while the character of Themistocles was animated and foreseeing, but somewhat rash. The temper

of Themistocles was better suited to the disposition of the Athenians at this time than that of Aristeides ; and he saw that, in order to repel another invasion of the Persians, the Greeks must become seamen. The Athenians owned some valuable silver mines at Mount Laurium, and Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to devote the revenue of these mines to the fitting out of a fleet. The ships were soon built, and the harbor of Athens improved. Aristeides was much opposed to this policy, and there was in consequence much discord in the affairs of the state. The wise men of Athens, seeing that, if they hoped to defeat Persia, they must be united in action, took a vote on the policies of the two men, and Aristeides was banished. This was intended not as a punishment, but to remove the most dangerous obstacle to unity of policy.

In 485 B. C. the Greeks had a new sense of relief, in learning of the death of Darius. His successor, Xerxes, was a man of very different stamp, born in luxury, self-willed and effeminate, with little knowledge of the world. He at once set about making most elaborate preparations for the conquest of Greece. New roads were built, and depots of provisions established on a grand scale along the proposed route of march ; troops were summoned from all the countries subject to Persia. For three years, at least, these preparations were carried on with immense energy, and in 481 B. C. the immense army and fleet was gathered at Sardis. Before the expedition set forth, however, Xerxes sent to the Greek states, as his father had done, to demand the tokens of submission. The heralds came back with these tokens from at least one third of all the Hellenic states, — a terrible prospect for the rest of Greece ; Persian gold had done a great deal. Herodotus gives an account of this in a few striking sentences, and declares that, had the Athenians submitted or left their country, there would have been no attempt to resist the Persians by sea ; and again he says : “ If any man should say that the Athenians were the saviors of Greece, he would not

exceed the truth. For the Athenians at this time, as before, were firm and steady, and ready to sacrifice everything except their liberty, and to make every effort, whether supported by the rest of Greece or not; and their courage, self-devotion, and dignity at this time not only were the manifestation of great qualities of character, but they helped to lift this character still higher. The very fact that they were so solitary made them recognize, not merely the danger of their position, but the greatness of their opportunity; it enlarged and inspired them, and made them what they needed to be."

In 480 B. C. Athens had succeeded in securing for herself a fleet much more powerful than that held by any other city in Greece; and, although there was every material ground for claiming her position as leader, Athens surrendered the command at sea to Sparta. This shows in a remarkable way the self-sacrificing spirit that actuated the leading statesmen at Athens. As Herodotus says, "There was nothing that Athens had so much at heart as the salvation of Greece."

Xerxes in this year set out on his expedition to conquer Greece. Every one knows the story of the passage of the Hellespont, the seven days and seven nights occupied by the passing of the army. It was an Eastern army, — a horde; never before had there been a march of such a force under one command. In a few weeks they reached Greece, and were met at Thermopylæ by a small band of brave men, about five thousand in number, under the command of Leonidas, king of Sparta. For five days the Greeks held their position in the narrow pass; but finally they were betrayed, and Leonidas, finding that he must soon be overwhelmed by the Persians, sent the most of his army home. The remainder, a little band of about one thousand men, bravely resisted the foe, and one by one met their fate. Xerxes then marched into Attica, took possession of the city of Athens, and burned all the buildings on the acropolis. Then came the battle of Salamis, in which the great size of the Persian fleet was its own destruction; for, crowded together, the ships interfered

with one another, and the Persians were defeated. A brief description of the history of this period is unsatisfactory; one ought to read the full account, as given by Plutarch, and by Herodotus in the seventh and eighth books of his history.

After the defeat at Salamis, Xerxes sailed back to Asia with his fleet, leaving the army, in command of Mardonius, to complete the work of conquest. The Persians remained for a year in the northern part of Greece; and Mardonius made all sorts of offers to Athens if she would submit to Persia; but Athens was not ready to do so. At this time, Sparta, thinking to make her position more secure, threw up a very strong wall across the Isthmus of Corinth, thus cutting off Athens from the Peloponnesus. In the next year the Persians advanced from Thessaly, and Attica was again ravaged. Mardonius, after doing a great deal of harm, withdrew to Bœotia, where occurred the decisive battle of Plataea; the naval battle of Mycale was fought on the same day, and in both the Greeks were victorious. The Persian invasion was practically at an end, and the next few years were taken up by the slow but steady recovery by the Greeks of the regions that had been in the hands of the Persians.

When the Athenians returned to their city after the battle of Plataea, they found it in absolute ruin. Their loss was, however, not so much a loss of private property, for their houses could easily be rebuilt; but the temples of the gods had been destroyed, and the city had been defiled. The Athenians went to work with great vigor to rebuild the walls of their city, even before they repaired their own homes; but Sparta, ever jealous of Athens, sent envoys to protest against the work. The political existence of Athens was at stake at this moment, as well as the personal independence of the people; but the temper of Athens had risen in proportion to the greatness of her deeds, and the work went on, in spite of Spartan interference.

The life on which the Athenians now entered was such as renders this period of their history not merely exceptional,

but solitary, in the history of mankind. The policy of Themistocles, who was at this time in power at Athens, was of a large and foreseeing character. There was from the first a philosophy of politics exhibited in the acts of Themistocles and his opponents. The contest between them was not merely a contest for the possession of power for the sake of power, but for the carrying out of a determined policy; and we now enter on the history of what may be called constitutional politics. In the preceding century, the question was, Shall Peisistratus be tyrant, or Solon? now it was, Shall Athens be a state confining herself to domestic interests, or one having great political relations with the world? Shall she enter into the comprehensive Greek life, or limit herself to the interests within her own walls? These were questions, the discussion of which enlarged the ideas in potentializing the faculties of the people.

The year 475 B. C. marks a new period in the development of the Athenian power. The result of placing Pausanias in the chief command of the united forces of Greece after the battle of Salamis, had been to transfer the hegemony at sea to the Athenians; but the circumstances which led to this change made Sparta more bitter than ever before, and here was one of the sources of infinite worry to Greece afterward. This was shortly followed by an alliance of the states most exposed to attack from Persia, especially the Ionian states and the islands; these, with Attica, formed what was called the Confederacy of Delos. Delos was chosen as the place for an annual meeting, not only on account of its convenient and protected situation, but because it was the seat of a much-venerated shrine of Apollo and Artemis. Money and ships were to be furnished by each member of the confederacy, so that they should be able to check any further designs of Persia. A very large sum of money was raised, and placed under the charge of a board of officers, known as the Hellenotamiai, stewards of Greece.

The first ten years of this confederacy, during which

Athens naturally held the hegemony, were years of constant and active war against Persia; but it was not long before several of the minor states, thinking themselves tolerably secure, began to feel the burden of the annual tax, and desired to withdraw from the confederacy. The first of these was the island of Naxos. Athens, however, insisted that the confederacy was not a union of states that could withdraw at pleasure, but was indissoluble, as far as the common object was concerned. Naxos was subdued by force, — the first step in the process that changed the leadership of Athens into the *ἡγεμονία* or rule of Athens, in which Athens undertook to control the action of the other states. This spirit was promoted by the disposition of many of the states to contribute sums of money in place of their regular quota of men and ships. These states thus lost the sense of having any important function in the confederacy; they paid their money, and were defended, — all this tending still more to confirm the headship of Athens. This money was largely spent in the increase of the Athenian fleet, and in strengthening the military power of Athens in general.

In 466 B. C. another important event occurred, in the revolution of Thasos, an island at the north. The Lacedæmonians, envious of the growth of Athens, offered assistance to the Thasians, agreeing that, while the Thasians should occupy the Athenian fleet at the north, they would invade Attica with a land force, — a miserable evidence of the spirit of Greece, as well as of Sparta. But their expedition had to be recalled, on account of the revolt of the Spartan Helots; and the trouble was so serious that they even asked aid from the Athenians, the people whom they had but recently fought. The generous Athenians sent a large force, which the Spartans, finding that they could manage the revolt, dismissed with insult. Thereupon the Athenians renounced their alliance with Sparta, and joined themselves with Argos.

About the year 460 B. C. a change took place in the organization of the Confederacy of Delos, which was of the

utmost importance in the future history of Athens ; this was the transference of the treasury, by the will of Athens, from Delos to Athens itself, and hence the substitution of Athena for Apollo as the guardian of the treasury and the chief divinity of the confederacy. This change meant a great deal ; it indicated a determination on the part of Athens to make herself distinctly the mistress of Greece ; to unite the Greeks, if possible, in a confederacy of which she was to be the chief power. At about this time, also, the Athenians greatly strengthened the defences of their city by building the Long Walls, which reached from the city to Phaleron and the Peiræus, and served as a refuge and citadel in case of an invasion of Attica by Greek or foreign powers.

The ill feeling between Athens and Sparta still continued, and finally brought about the battle of Tanagra in 457 B. C. Though the result was in favor of Sparta, the Athenians in the next year made up for the defeat, for their fleet sailed round the Peloponnesus and burned certain dockyards of the Lacedæmonians. Hostilities continued till 450 B. C., when a five-years truce was concluded. At the end of that time, however, hostilities were renewed because of the invasion of Attica by the Lacedæmonians ; but the latter were compelled to retire after doing comparatively little harm, and a truce was then made between Athens and Sparta for thirty years.

Meanwhile, the generation of Athenians that had fought at Salamis had long since disappeared, and the new generation was filled with a spirit of confidence. The statesmen who now took the lead at Athens were men filled with the new sense of Athenian power, and the possibility of making Athens greater than any other city of Greece. The institutions of Athens were gradually becoming more and more democratic. No city, as far as history has recorded, ever exhibited a more astonishing activity or a more abundant capability in every department of human effort than Athens was exhibiting in these years. Perhaps the most typical evidence is that afforded by the drama.

The history of the Athenian drama extends over a period of great epochs in Athenian life. The drama is of importance not only on account of its literary worth, but because it had in the hands of the Greek masters, especially Æschylus and Sophocles, a political interest most easily recognized by reading one of the dramas of Æschylus, produced in the years 473-472 B. C., not long after the defeat of the Persians. It is called "The Persians," and gives in a most distinct and vivid way the aspect of the recent events as they appeared to the Athenians themselves. One very striking thing about the play is the appeal, not only to Athenian pride, but to the common Greek feeling, — the endeavor to arouse in the whole Greek nation those sentiments on which its future might rest secure, to stimulate into activity those qualities that belonged to the race as a whole, and not to the race as an aggregate of separate communities.

Another point which is worth noting is the imperfect development of the resources of the stage. Æschylus introduced many innovations in the Greek play; he was the first to place two persons on the stage at the same time; he also introduced the mask and the chorus, — in every way he was a man of genius. The moral element in his work is very marked, for the express intention of his plays is to affect the sentiment of the hearer in noble directions, and to present the condition of the persons of the drama so that from their conduct and experience his hearers might derive lessons that would be most serviceable for the conduct of their own lives. But of the dramatists, perhaps a greater even than Æschylus was Sophocles, one of the greatest writers that the world has known, owing to his acquaintance with human nature, and the depth of his reflections on the relation of man to the universe.

The same temper which led to the rapid development and rise of the drama was leading to the refinement of the other arts, especially of poetry. The odes of Pindar are very important, for they give a vivid and wide impression of the condition of Greek thought outside of Athens. Pindar's works are the more important, because he was a free man, trained

in the old school of Greek thought ; hence his writings reflect the temper of the earlier time, and are very far from sympathizing with the advance of Athens : it was not till years after that he fully shared the spirit which followed the defeat of the Persians. Yet in the odes of Pindar we have a very full and satisfactory account of the conceptions which the Greeks held in regard to life, religion, and the arts. His thoughts are often obscure, but they have a loftiness of spirit, a variety of intellectual power, and a splendor of diction and of style, which raise to a high point our conception of the intellectual life of the Greeks.

The odes of Pindar were intended to celebrate the victories of men who gained the prizes at the different games. These national games had a very close relation not only to the religious life of the Greeks, but also to their common daily life ; for they led to the growth of a marked element in their character, — the culture of the grace and beauty of the body itself. The relation between beauty of body and beauty of soul was more distinctly recognized by the Greeks than by modern races, who, under an ill conception, have looked on the body as presenting a barrier against the advance of the soul in its spiritual life. The conception of St. Francis, who spoke of his body as "my brother the ass," that must be beaten, was very remote from the idea of the Greeks, who regarded the body as the dwelling-place to be made perfect for the soul. The beauty of the god, in whose honor the games were celebrated, was to be represented in the beauty of the victor who won the prize, the gift of the god to him. Many moral elements entered into the games. The victory was to be won especially by the observance of two moral conditions, called by the very simple names, labor and cost, — moral elements they were, because they involved self-sacrifice, self-discipline, and submission to authority.

These odes of Pindar are odes in praise of the god and of the victors, and the moral elements of the victory are extolled, while all due celebration is made of the physical qualities which were largely the result of the moral efforts of the

victors. The long traditions of the Greeks, who gloried in the celebration of the fame of the great Greek heroes who had been exalted to the rank of demi-gods, all pass in review before us in the odes of Pindar, and all are brought together to magnify the special incident and victory which it is the object of the different odes to honor. It is one of the great values of these odes of Pindar that they give us a knowledge of the popular conception of the relations between man and the gods ; and the inferences which we may draw from Pindar's writings are, on the whole, very satisfactory indications of the manliness and good sense of the position which the Greeks held toward those whom they regarded as the arbiters of their being.

One of the most striking of the odes of Pindar shows us the conception of the Greeks in regard to poetry. The ode begins in this wise : " O golden lyre, thou common treasure of Apollo and the Muses, violet-tressed, thou whom the dancer's step, prelude of festal mirth, obeyeth, and the singers heed thy bidding, what time with quivering strings thou utterest preamble of choir-leading overture, — lo, even the sworded lightning of immortal fire thou quenchest, and on the sceptre of Zeus his eagle sleepeth, slackening his swift wings on either side, the king of birds, for a dark mist thou hast distilled on his arched head, a gentle seal upon his eyes, and he in slumber heaveth his supple back, spellbound beneath thy throbs. Yea, also violent Ares, leaving afar off the fierce point of his spears, letteth his heart have joy in rest, for thy shafts soothe hearts divine by the cunning of Leto's son and the deep-bosomed Muses."

In a very imperfect translation one sees how lofty is the style, and what noble conceptions of poetry are involved in it. Gray's imitation of the ode is well known : —

" Perching on the sceptred hand of Jove,
Thy magic lulls the feather'd King
With ruffled plumes, and flagging wing ;
Quenched in dark clouds of slumber lie
The terror of his beak, and lightnings of his eye."

Gray's " The Progress of Poesy."

CHAPTER IX.

GREECE (*continued*).

THUCYDIDES in the second book of his History speaks of Pericles as "the greatest citizen of Athens." No higher praise could be bestowed on a man, — the greatest citizen in a city whose inhabitants were endowed by nature to such a degree that the works which they produced as the expression of their moral and intellectual character are still the exemplary works of the world. To speak of a man as the greatest citizen of this city, is to declare that he exhibited in himself the highest qualities of which man is capable.

Pericles was born about 493 B. C. He was the son of Xanthippus, who defeated the Persians at the battle of Mycale; and his mother was Agariste, the great-granddaughter of Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, and the niece of Cleisthenes, the Athenian reformer. In the union of Cleisthenes and Agariste were joined the two ancient families of Athens, the Eupatridæ and the Alcæonidæ; there could hardly have been a nobler birth, and the nature of the child corresponded with the character of the family in which he was born. He seems to have had the happiest gifts from nature, to have been born to express in his character that highest quality of *sophrosyne*, which was the moral ideal of the Athenians. His youth was spent in a time when the events at Athens were well calculated to fill every boy with pride, energy, and patriotic zeal. When a mere child he witnessed the evacuation of Athens in 490 B. C., and again in 480 B. C.; the events of this year and the next — Salamis, Platæa, and Mycale — were well calculated to impress a susceptible youth.

He saw the spirit of the people rise to the great exigencies of the moment ; he saw Athens gradually extending her influence, till she became the leader of Greece.

Pericles had the best education that could be obtained at the time ; the best masters were secured for him, and he showed a peculiar readiness not merely in learning the lessons given him, but in understanding the significance of them ; not merely in feeding his mind with facts, but in understanding the principles which gave value to the facts. His first teacher of whom we are told was Damon, a Sophist, who taught him music ; Zeno, the Eleatic philosopher, taught him natural philosophy, the principles which underlie the phenomena of the world ; but his greatest master was Anaxagoras, a man of the highest elevation of purpose and integrity, who, according to Plutarch, was called "Nous," that is, mind or intelligence. Anaxagoras seems to have been the first of the Greeks to assert that the universe not only was the product of intelligence, but was maintained and ordered by it. For Anaxagoras Pericles had the highest esteem and admiration, and to him he attributed much of the best of his own culture. He recognized that one can do the most service to his fellowmen by bringing himself into harmony with the moral laws which prevail in the universe. He gained from nature and the teachings of Anaxagoras a composure of mind and a serenity and elevation of purpose ; and there is nothing in the whole career of Pericles to indicate that he was at any time actuated by other than the highest motives for the general good ; his patriotism was not local, but embraced the interests of all. It is not known whether Pericles had any particular instruction in oratory ; but he was always spoken of as one of the most tranquil of speakers, setting forth what he had to say with entire clearness, with all the ornament appropriate, but appealing more to the reason than to the passion.

It is not certain when Pericles entered on his political life, but it was probably during the time that Cimon was the most

important of the political leaders at Athens, about 470 B. C., when Pericles was about twenty-three years old. From this time his political principles were tolerably distinct, being very different from those somewhat narrow principles, based on aristocratic prepossession, which distinguished the course of Cimon. He seems from the first to have had a larger conception than any other Greek statesman of the principle of Hellenic unity, of the possibility of uniting all the Greek states into something resembling a true national life more nearly than did the broken and weak confederacy. It was always the intention of Pericles to make Athens the true head of a united Greece, not by her mere physical power or possession of material resources, but by her executive worth and moral strength, by exhibiting in her that which all Greece might rightly seek to emulate. Athens was to become the centre of Hellenic life, with the intellectual current flowing through her as the heart of Greece, extending her spirit and power to the most distant parts of the nation. Such seem to have been the conceptions of Pericles, — conceptions not unnatural to a man born and bred in Athens at this time, when the relations with outside states were becoming intricate and varied, requiring the services of the most accomplished statesmen to prevent them from becoming entangled.

The foremost object of Pericles, as leader of the political life of Athens and Greece, was the establishment of a Pan-Hellenic national unity; this lay at the foundation of all his efforts, and naturally led to the enforcing of a secondary position upon Sparta, a state that never showed herself capable of taking a large view of the interests of the Hellenic race. The reforms which Pericles undertook at Athens were numerous and intricate, but their main object was the separation of the judicial and executive functions of the state; this was brought about by a series of regulations which introduced a much larger body of Athenian citizens into public life. These reforms of Pericles are fully treated in

Grote's History, Vol. V., chap. 46, and in Curtius's History, Vol. II.

One very notable fact in the career of Pericles is, that he had the confidence of the great body of Athenian citizens whom he had endowed by his reforms with political power. He had no competitors for the first place in the Athenian state for a period of at least twenty years, — a very long time for any statesman in such a position. He was not only the foremost citizen of Athens, but he was continually chosen to fill a great number of offices that could be held together. He was General-in-Chief of the army; Superintendent of the Finances, having the sole charge of the treasury; then he was the Epistates, the Superintendent of Public Works, an office of extraordinary importance at this time of the building up of Athens. Another important office was that of *Athlothetes*, or Head of the Public Festivals. It was under Pericles that the Greeks were relieved for at least fifty years from all danger from Persia. His extensive policy was also directed to the relations between Athens and Sparta: he recognized that Athens was the gainer by peace, that she needed to strengthen her resources, in order to be better fitted for entering the final struggle with Sparta which he saw was inevitable before the Hellenic union could successfully be accomplished.

Such seem to have been the main objects of Pericles in his rule. We may speak of it as a "rule," because, although his power depended on election, — and he was not at all a tyrant, but a chosen officer of Athens, — yet his intellectual force and character were such as to make him practically the ruler of the state. His life was devoted to public ends; he sacrificed himself for the benefit of the community; but, although he lifted Athens to a height that no city has since attained, one has to admit that his designs failed; he did not succeed in establishing that national unity, with Athens as the leading power, which seems to have been the chief motive for his action. The failure came partly from the de-

fects in the Athenian character and partly from misfortune, but principally from his over-estimation of the capability of any human beings for long-continued efforts of the highest kind. The strain which had been on Athens ever since the beginning of the fifth century was too great to be maintained; and finally, at the death of Pericles, the cord broke, and Athens began to decline.

One of the ways by which Pericles hoped to carry out his designs was by strengthening and beautifying Athens; she was to be made the representative city of Greece; and, as one mode of accomplishing this end, the guardian deity of the Athenians had been made more than ever the protector of the highest life of the Greeks. Athena was the breath and spirit of man; she gave him the power to lift himself above the low interests of a transient and temporal life, and she expressed the breath and spirit by which he was to succeed in expressing the permanent and ideal elements of his nature. Pericles, from his position in the state, was able to carry out large schemes for beautifying Athens. The works that he undertook required enormous funds, and these were taken from the treasury of the Confederacy of Delos, which at this time contained about 1,800 talents. This sum was intended for the common interests of the confederacy, and Pericles has been charged with a misappropriation of the funds; but it may be replied that Athens was not using the funds to diminish the strength of the confederacy, but was ready at any time to use what was necessary for the common defence; that it was better to use the money in adding to the glory of Greece or of Athens itself, than to have it remain idle. How far this is a legitimate defence is a matter of opinion.

The central point about which these designs were most clearly to be manifested and most fully carried out was naturally the acropolis. The acropolis had been the chief seat of the worship of Athena from the prehistoric period; here was built the earliest temple dedicated to Athena, on the spot of

the legendary contest between Athena and Poseidon. Undoubtedly a considerable part of the people gathered on the acropolis; it was the stronghold of the city, and for a long time was occupied by the mighty kings of Athens. But in the later days it was regarded as a *τέμενος* or sacred enclosure dedicated to Athena, into which were subsequently admitted the shrines of other deities. The orator Aristeides once said that the acropolis was like the boss of a shield surrounded by four circles, the first being Athens, the second Attica, the third Greece, and the fourth the world, making the acropolis the very centre of all. The acropolis is remarkable as a rock, standing quite solitary, apart from the mountain chain, of which it is one of the last spurs. It rises abruptly from the plain, and its sides, for a considerable distance, are almost perpendicular; on the western side, however, the slope is quite gradual, and here has been the entrance since the most ancient times. The height of the rock is about four hundred and ninety-five feet, and it has a tolerably level surface, nine hundred feet long and about four hundred and fifty feet wide, affording an admirable building ground.

About 454 B. C., at the time of the greatest height of the Athenian power, proposals were sent by Athens to all the Greek states for an Hellenic Congress to deliberate on the restoration of the temples destroyed by the Persians; but the proposals met with little acceptance, for the other states were not ready to follow the lead of Athens. The plan failed, and Pericles saw that Athens must do for herself the work which he hoped might be done by the various Hellenic states in common. The opportunities for doing this work at Athens were admirable, for, during the generation that had passed since the Persian War, Athens had grown in every way, and had become so attractive a centre as to bring within her gates most of the leading intellects of Greece. There is no full account from ancient times either of the design or the accomplishment of these works; hence, in studying Greek

art, one has to study the works themselves, and from this study to derive a knowledge of the principles of the various arts, and of the modes in which they were practised.

The whole scheme for the adornment of the acropolis seems to have been laid out in advance; and first and most important were two temples in honor of Athena, the one dedicated to Athena Polios, Athena of the City, representing the goddess in her special relations to Athens itself; the other in honor of Athena Parthenos, Athena the Virgin, representing the goddess in her large national relations. The temple of Athena Polios is also known as the Erechtheum, on account of the early tradition which associated the name of Athena with Erechtheus, that strangely mythical, half-divine and half-human being, one of the earliest rulers of Athens. But the most striking shrine of Athena was the colossal statue, representing the goddess as the Promachos, or Champion of the Greeks. It was to be seen rising above all the other buildings, and was the mark of the dedication of the rock as the Temenos or sacred abode of Athena. At the western end of the acropolis was the Propylæa, the magnificent gateway, of use both for ornament and defence, marking the entrance to the sacred enclosure.

In laying out the scheme for the adornment of the acropolis, the keen perceptions of the Athenians are very manifest. At first it seems as if the buildings were arranged without order; but, on the contrary, there is a very distinct artistic relation between them. They are not symmetrically placed, but the Greek eye saw nobler relations than those of symmetry, for the qualities of the buildings were to be made clear by contrast. This irregularity in their position was a more permanent source of pleasure than any absolute regularity could have been. In the first place, the three principal buildings, the Propylæa, the Parthenon, and the temple of Athena Polios, are not arranged with their axes parallel. This simple fact brings out a great variety in the aspect of the buildings from different points of view. The Propylæa and the Parthenon,

though both of the Doric style, vary greatly in their arrangement, and the size and height of the columns. The Erechtheum is a building of another order. The artists saw that, although the Doric style was equally admirable for large or small buildings, if they put a small building of the Doric style beside the Propylæa and the Parthenon, it would appear insignificant; so they adopted the Ionic style for the Erechtheum or Athena Polios, and, to counteract the effect of its small size, they gave to this Ionic temple an exquisite elaboration of detail, and introduced certain varieties of construction, which distinguished it in a most striking manner from the two great buildings so close at hand. There was another structure on the most advanced bastion of the acropolis at the western end, overhanging the steps by which the Propylæa was reached. This was a little temple in the Ionic style, — the temple of Niké Apteros, Wingless Victory.

The whole scheme for the adornment of the acropolis was under the charge of Pericles, as the overseer of the public works of Athens. This work was entrusted to certain architects and sculptors, the most famous of whom was Phidias; in him Pericles had an artist capable of carrying into execution any ideas that might be suggested, and it seems likely that the artistic plan for the adornment of the acropolis was all drawn out by him. Under the direction of Phidias were artists and sculptors hardly less capable than himself. There were two famous architects in charge of the building of the Parthenon, — Ictinos and Callicrates. Another noted artist designed and carried out the work of the Propylæa, — Mnesicles. Then, too, associated with Phidias at this time were the famous sculptors, Myron and Polyclitus, whose works are sometimes likened to those of Phidias himself. Among the painters of this splendid time were Polygnotus, whose name is still so famous; also Micon and Agatharchos, besides a great number of other distinguished men.

During the past fifty years the Parthenon has been the object of the most careful study, and the facts that have

been discovered about its structure have led to a more complete knowledge of Greek architecture than previously existed. These discoveries have led to the revelation of some of the principles which guided the Greek builders, and of the technical methods of their arts. In 1846, Mr. Penrose, the great English architect, undertook to determine the exact dimensions of the Parthenon, and to investigate the details of its plan. The results of his study remain an astonishment to this day. According to his measurements, made with the utmost care, by using the most delicate instruments, the breadth of the Parthenon along the upper step of the stylobate is one hundred and one feet and one third, which corresponds exactly to the calculated value of one hundred Greek feet. The length of the building, measured from the upper step of the northern flight, is 228.141 feet. The ratio of the length to the breadth is thus very nearly that of nine to four, — the length of the building being precisely one and one half inches too long for the exact ratio. Such a degree of accuracy might seem satisfactory; but Mr. Penrose is undoubtedly right in saying that this difference is too great to have arisen from any defect in the workmanship. It might be suggested that the difference is due to the disturbance of the blocks of marble by the sinking of the soil, or to the shocks of explosions or earthquakes to which the building has been subjected; but the excellence of the workmanship was so great, that to this day the work, even in ruins, admits of measurements of a high degree of accuracy. In the measurements of mediæval or modern buildings, the attempt to determine distances to the one-thousandth of a foot would be useless; but in the case of the Parthenon this can be done, if one takes those parts which have been least exposed to the weather. The height of the building from the top step to the cymatium, that is, the top of the cornice, is 59.127 feet, being 0.012 of a foot more than seven twelfths of the breadth. The average height of the columns at the angles of the building is 34.253 feet; there is, however, an

addition to be made, amounting to 0.225 of a foot, owing to the curvature of the stylobate. When this distance is added, the relation of the height of the column to the total height of the building is that of seven to twelve, the same as the ratio of the height of the whole building to its breadth.

If one takes the height of the Parthenon from the lower step, one finds another series of proportions. This height is 65.185 feet, which is within 0.003 of a foot of two sevenths of the length of the building; and, further, the height of the columns in proportion to this total height of the building from the ground to the top of the cornice is as ten to nineteen. This latter ratio is very interesting, for it is an illustration of a common rule which applies to the best works of architecture in Greece: "The height of the column shall exceed the joint height of all the other parts of the building taken together, — epistyle, entablature, and pediment, — and this excess shall equal one aliquot part of their common measure." That is, if one divides the total height into nineteen parts, then nine parts are to measure the combined heights of the epistyle, entablature, and pediment, and ten parts the height of the column; thus, the height of the column exceeds the height of the remainder of the building by one nineteenth of the whole. There are very many other ratios, showing that every element of the building was built on an exact plan. It has also been pointed out that the architects of the Parthenon adopted a scale of proportions with a constant difference of five between the terms of the ratio: for example, the relation of the breadth to the length is as four to nine; the height, from the upper step of the stylobate to the top of the cornice, is to the breadth as seven is to twelve; the height of the column to the same height of the building is as seven to twelve; the total height of the building above the ground is to its length as two is to seven, — in all these ratios a difference of five between the terms.

A common measure, or module, in architectural phrase,

was required to determine this accuracy of dimension ; this was found in the lower diameter of the columns of the peristyle, the average of these being 6.251 feet. This diameter is divided into sixty minutes, each equal to 0.10426 feet ; and this length, the minute, will be found to measure almost all the architectural parts exactly. This gives an illustration of the extraordinary accuracy of these buildings ; for, in eighteen measurements of the ground plan, comprising its most important dimensions, the difference from the calculated value, with the minute as a divisor, in no case exceeds 0.007 of a foot, while the average difference is between 0.003 and 0.004 of a foot. Thirteen measurements of the vertical dimensions show an average variation of 0.004 of a foot. Such accuracy in stone masonry is not thought of in modern times.

Having considered the system of exact proportions displayed in the main dimensions of the Parthenon, it is not without some surprise, that, in carrying on the investigation in regard to the relation of the different parts, one finds irregularities of proportion and dimension, which at first sight are difficult to reconcile with the strict regularity of the other and larger parts of the building. For example, the spaces between the columns are not precisely equal. This seems a little strange, for one could easily have made these spaces the same. On the northern side the intercolumniations measure from about eight and one eighth feet to eight and one quarter feet ; and there is no apparent rule in these variations, for they occur between the fourth and fifth columns, then between the ninth and tenth and eleventh and twelfth, the extreme difference being a little more than one eighth of a foot ; this is greater than the whole disagreement in the ratio of the length to the breadth of the building, and hence we must conclude that it was intended. The difference on the ends, however, is much less than on the sides : on the east end the maximum difference is 0.02 of a foot ; on the western side it is a little less than 0.04 of a foot. This difference occurs in an average space of eight and one fifth feet between the

columns ; and when we remember that the maximum entasis of a column thirty-four feet high is a little less than 0.06 of a foot, we feel assured that this variation and incommensurability of the spaces between such important members as the columns was adopted for the production of some required effect. This conclusion is confirmed when we find that a similar but more considerable irregularity occurs in the breadth of the metopes. Out of the fourteen metopes no two are of exactly the same breadth, the maximum difference being a little over two and three quarters inches. The actual amount of the difference in each case depends apparently on the position of the triglyphs ; for the centre of each triglyph is placed over the joints in the blocks of the epistyle, and these blocks are never of the same length. But, considering this variation in the columns and metopes to be required for effect, is there any rational ground for the inequality ? It is not possible, perhaps, to see the controlling motive in all the refinements of the building ; some had their origin in the attempt to correct optical illusions, while others were due to intellectual or æsthetic reasons. Though no previous attempt has been made to explain, on intellectual grounds, this irregularity in the intercolumniations, it seems that there is a reason for it, which may be made clear. The eye recognizes at first glance the geometric simplicity of the general plan of the building, and it would be satisfied only with exactness in the main proportions. The ratio of these proportions was to be definite, but not so simple as to be recognized by direct observation, — as the ratios of four to nine, and seven to twelve ; but, while these higher proportions could not be resolved, they might afford a satisfaction of the sense of harmonious, rhythmical relation ; the rhythm might be felt, if the measure could not be applied. But a building on the principle of vertical pressure, made exactly level and plumb, would have the appearance of being inert and heavy. The mass must be animated ; and so, in giving the lines to the walls, the architects seem to have been determined in their

work not merely by physical laws, but by choice and design. But this was not enough. The building was an organism, in which each part was related to the whole. The columns, by which the external character of the edifice was chiefly determined, were not only to perform a distinct function, but were to exhibit their organic nature. To form these columns in the shape of the frustrum of a cone was only to adopt a simple statical principle; but, in regarding them as a part of the organic whole, the artist gave them character as works of art. Their outline was then disturbed by the sharp edges of the fluting, giving a varying play of light and shade; but the column still remained without expression, — the shaft was still inert; and the remedy for this was found in the entasis, which served to correct the optical illusion, to make the seeming concave surface have the appearance of elasticity. Although the different portions of the building were thus filled with an independent life of their own, it was the main object of the architect to preserve the perfect unity of the whole. The regular recurrence in any part of the building of a given measure would tend to give the eye the power of resolving the harmony of the whole into its parts; and perhaps it was to prevent this easy division of the side or front that the columns were set at slightly varying distances from one another. The difference in the intervals between the columns is not so great as to attract attention, but is sufficient to prevent the intercolumniation from answering as a standard of division of the whole side or front. This serves as an illustration of the excellent judgment of the Greeks; for they used the principles of architecture not as stiff guides to be followed at all cost, not as a builder with level and line uses his instruments to secure perfect regularity; but, with their superior intelligence, they modified the principle when it could be done to advantage.

The artist in charge of adorning and beautifying the acropolis was Phidias, an Athenian, who was born at about the same time as Pericles. His brother, Panainos, was a

painter of very considerable distinction. Toward the middle of the century, when Phidias began his work, the sculpture of the Greeks still retained many archaic qualities. There was a stiffness and a limitation in the number of attitudes of the figures carved in marble or cast in bronze, and also a great formality in the arrangement of the draperies, the lines of which were very regular. The Greeks, to be sure, had attained to great skill in the mere reproduction of the forms of the body, but they had not learned to give vitality to its action, far less an expression of intelligence to the face.

The schools of sculpture which prevailed in Greece had different origins, and exhibited somewhat different traits. We may divide them broadly into two classes: first, the Ionic school, very active in the Greek cities of Asia Minor and the neighboring islands; and second, the Peloponnesian school, which was the principal one at the beginning of the fifth century, and also later, at the time of the development of the Athenian school of sculpture, chiefly under the influence of Phidias. The works of the Ionic school are very numerous, being found in Ephesus, Samos, Halicarnassus, and in all the great cities of the Ionian race. The postures of their figures are generally correct and dignified; the draperies are elaborate, rich, and highly ornamented. The execution of the work was a little soft, however, indicating the delicate sensitiveness of the somewhat effeminate nature of the Ionic part of the Greek race, as compared with the more masculine and vigorous nature of the inhabitants of the mainland. The qualities of the Peloponnesian school are hard in comparison with those of the Ionic school; the style is more severe, and the action less animated; the attitudes are less varied, and the draperies less flowing.

In the early years of the fifth century, from 500 to 475 B. C., there were two chief centres for sculpture in the Peloponnesus. Sicyon especially seems to have been celebrated for the number of its sculptors and for the excellence of their work. There was also a school at Sparta, of which

only a few works have been preserved ; but these are characteristic and distinct. At Argos also there was great activity in the art ; but at Ægina a school of sculpture already existed, of which the most eminent sculptor was Onatas, who did very important work in adorning the pediments of one of its chief temples. In the early part of this century a great number of figures belonging to this temple were found ; these are of great interest, for they show how far the Greeks had already advanced in their power of representing the human body, but yet how restrained they still were by the difficulties of the material, and their inability to express animation of action.

The methods of sculpture differ widely according to the material ; the method used in making figures of marble is very different from that used in making figures of bronze. Not only is the method of treatment different on account of the nature of the material, but a knowledge is required of the effect produced by this difference in material. The same figures in bronze and in marble produce very different effects ; the reflection of light from the bronze is very different from the reflected glow from a piece of beautiful marble. The light sinks into the marble, while it is thrown back by the bronze ; all this the sculptor has to take into account.

Until nearly the middle of the fifth century no sculptor had succeeded in giving to his figures the aspect of vitality ; the artist who seems to have been the first to achieve this high result in sculpture was Phidias. The first teacher of Phidias who is recorded was an Athenian, by name Hegias or Hegesias. He belonged to the previous generation of archaic sculptors, and the most important information we have of him is given in Quintilian's admirable little Treatise on Oratory where he speaks of the work of this artist as "durus," — hard, stiff, severe. The teaching of this man was not enough for Phidias, who desired to make himself master of the art ; and he is said to have gone to Sicyon to study under Ageladas of the Peloponnesian school. At Sicyon the work was done mainly in bronze, and Ageladas had the repu-

tation of being the greatest sculptor at the time that Phidias went there to study. His most famous work was a bronze figure consecrated at Delphi as a dedicatory offering by the inhabitants of Tarentum. Ageladas was a good teacher, since it is clear that the three great sculptors of the age when sculpture attained to its full power were all of them his pupils, — Myron, Polyclitus, and greatest of all, Phidias himself. After studying with Ageladas, Phidias returned to Athens; his reputation rose steadily, and if we suppose the Parthenon to have been begun about 447 B. C., there is every reason for believing that at this time Phidias had already gained such repute that pre-eminence was readily conceded to him. He was not merely a sculptor; one is apt to regard the painter and the sculptor as if their arts were such as to limit the broad development of the man. Now, the greater the man, the greater the artist; all the artists whose works have become a part of the treasure of humanity have been men of large training and culture, — and Phidias was a philosopher as well as a sculptor. He, too, as well as Pericles, had a part in the great intellectual movements which were going on at Athens during the middle of the century; and, if we may trust the statements handed down from antiquity, he was a man worthy to be the friend of Pericles. Hence, when the adornment of the acropolis was begun, it was natural enough, considering how great a man he was, that he should be made the general overseer of the work, and that to him should be committed especially the sculpture of the Parthenon.

To understand the present condition of the Parthenon, and the means which now exist for its study, it will be well to give some brief account of the various fortunes of the building. The Parthenon was completed, probably, in 437 B. C., just before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian War, which brought such misery to Athens, and marked the beginning of her decline. In the next century, the Parthenon was still the chief ornament of the city; it was not merely the

shrine of Athena, but was a museum of the offerings which were dedicated to the goddess, and known as Anathemata. The interior of the cella was crowded with precious gifts, often of gold or of silver; hence the temple afforded an opportunity for the unscrupulous rulers of Athens to enrich themselves, or to obtain money to meet the burdens of the state; still, the Parthenon remained for a long time beautiful and perfect; but, after the beginning of the Christian era, Athens sank to a lifeless condition, and the Parthenon was more or less injured by all sorts of wretched uses. It was occupied for a time by one of the freebooters into whose hands the fate of Greece fell; and by the time of Justinian, in the sixth century A. D., it was stripped of all its ornament. Even the magnificent statue of Athena, made of gold and ivory, which Phidias had erected in the cella, had disappeared; no man knows what became of it. Under Christian rule, the Parthenon was made into a church, dedicated to the Virgin; and the changes in the arrangement of the interior, and of the eastern end, did great injury to the sculptured frieze which ran around the wall of the cella. This condition lasted for centuries. The injury done by the transformation was not irreparable, however, for it did not affect the external character of the building, and the temple still remained very nearly complete. But, in the fifteenth century, the Turks, after establishing themselves at Constantinople, made advances into various regions of Europe, and in 1456 Mohammed II. laid siege to Athens. After a few years he took the city, which remained under Turkish rule till 1828. It was a miserable time for Athens; the Parthenon was changed into a Turkish mosque, where the rites of the Mohammedan religion were performed.

Shortly after the Turks gained possession of the city, interest in its antiquities was awakened, and from time to time an adventurous scholar made his way to Athens. The first of these was a man named Ciriaco, who, in 1447, was one of the dukes of Athens; he lived on the acropolis, and

made use of the Propylæa as his palace. He kept a journal, which has since proved very valuable on account of the drawings with which it is illustrated. More than two centuries after, a French scientist, named Spon, went to Athens in company with a young Englishman, Wheeler. They each wrote very careful accounts of what they saw, and their journals are valuable, as showing the condition of the city at this time. A few years previous to this visit, the French, in 1673, sent an embassy, under the Marquis de Nointelle, to Constantinople. The Marquis travelled like a grand seigneur, and carried with him an artist named Carrey, who had fortunately been educated under the best masters of France ; for in 1674 Nointelle made a visit to Athens, and set Carrey at work drawing the sculpture of the Parthenon. These drawings were taken back to France, but their value was not appreciated till the middle of this century, when fac-similes of them were published by the Count de Laborde. These drawings are of immense value, for they assist us in reconstructing the Parthenon, as it then existed.

A few years afterward, the Venetians made war against the Turks, and in 1687 laid siege to Athens. The siege advanced slowly, but a deserter from the city came to the Venetian camp, that was just outside the wall, and near the acropolis, and gave the information that the Turkish supply of powder was stored in the Parthenon. The Venetians accordingly began to shell the temple, and on the eve of the 26th of September, 1687, there was a great explosion, and the Parthenon was ruined, the whole centre of the building being blown to pieces. It is certainly one of the most striking and pathetic incidents in history that a Venetian bomb should ruin this temple that had remained practically complete down to that time ; for Venice had exhibited in her civilization the same principles which had made Athens great. Just as Athens holds the pre-eminence in sculpture, so Venice leads the world in painting. Venice cultivated the fine arts to a high degree, especially the arts of architecture and of paint-

ing; and that Venice, the most beautiful city of modern times, should be the cause of the destruction of the most beautiful of ancient works, is one of the most curious strokes of fate which the history of the world has exhibited. Two days after the explosion Athens was surrendered to the Venetians; and their general-in-chief, Morrosini, wishing to send home trophies of his victory, determined to take down some of the most splendid figures from the western pediment of the temple. Here was the chariot of Athena and the horses, as we know from Carrey's drawings; but his workmen were careless, and, in lowering the figures, they let them fall to the ground, and the magnificent sculpture was shattered to pieces.

The Venetians held Athens but a few years; the Turks came back, and the temples were more and more injured by them during a period of two hundred years. A long time passed before any new investigations were made at Athens; but in 1750-54 Stuart and Revett made their invaluable studies, which rank in importance with those of Carrey. From the publication of their drawings the real knowledge of the antiquities of Greece begins. At the end of the last century, Lord Elgin, Minister to Turkey, stopped at Athens, and, seeing the entire recklessness of the Turks in regard to the preservation of the works of art, obtained permission to take from the Parthenon anything he desired; accordingly, in 1800, he undertook to secure all the sculpture that remained. It is curious to note that, when this sculpture arrived in England, it met with no attention, and Lord Elgin, who had spent a great deal of money and effort, was considered as little better than a barbarian to have done such an act. But about 1815 the attention of scholars was drawn to it, and Parliament purchased the sculpture from Lord Elgin for a small sum, and set it up in the British Museum. It was at once recognized as of very high value, and from that time to this it has slowly risen in esteem, till now there is but one judgment, — that it is the noblest sculpture that the world has seen.

The main part of the interior of the Parthenon was divided into two chambers, one much larger than the other. As in all temples erected for ceremonies of honor rather than of worship, the main entrance and principal chamber were both on the eastern side. This eastern chamber, which occupied about two thirds of the cella, was especially devoted to Athena, and in a niche in its western wall stood a statue of the goddess. The chamber was nearly filled with dedicatory offerings, but a central space over sixty feet wide was left fairly free, and was entered by a central door at the eastern end. About one third of the way down there was a grating running across the room, and continued between the columns, to keep free the space before the statue. This space, during the closing ceremonies of the great games in honor of Athena, was reserved for the officers of state and the prize-winners; and the prizes were distributed immediately before the statue, in the presence of the goddess.

The western chamber of the Parthenon, known as the opisthodomos, contained the treasury of Athens. It had no windows, and the door was very strong, and carefully guarded day and night. On the outside a bronze railing passed from column to column and across the passageway, so that the whole chamber was carefully protected against attack.

Such was the general purpose and arrangement of the building, and everything was done that the imagination of the artist could devise, in order to make it the proper abode of the image of the goddess.

To one entering the acropolis, the western end of the Parthenon was the first part visible. This looked down on the busiest section of the city, and hence was adorned with sculpture that had especial reference to Athens. Here was represented the mythical contest of Athena and Poseidon for the possession of the city, and the scene apparently represented the moment when victory declared itself for Athena. To one looking up at the pediment, the figure of Athena appears a little to the left of the centre, and at the

right is Poseidon starting back, as if recognizing his defeat. There were many other figures in the pediment, probably attendants on the victorious deity. The sculptures in the metopes beneath the western pediment also had a very close relation to the Athenian myth ; among the figures are represented the Amazons, that victorious army of women who were finally defeated by Theseus and the Athenians. The story was interpreted allegorically by some of the deeper thinkers of Athens, and the Amazons were regarded as representing sometimes the unbridled passions of men, sometimes the powers of nature, which were to be overcome by the means which civilization secured. It was the victory of the principles on which Athenian life and greatness stood firm as on a solid foundation, — the victory of the principles of order and moderation, of high individual intelligence and physical development, against the principles of violence and disorder, which were represented by this strange army of the Amazons. The figures of the metopes represented various scenes in the battle, but unfortunately they have been almost entirely broken up, not one being left from which we can determine the excellence of the workmanship. In regard to the figures in the metopes of the northern and southern sides of the Parthenon little can be said, for there is great difficulty in their interpretation. They present a number of scenes chosen from the old myth of the contest between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ, the latter aided by Theseus and the Athenians.

Passing round to the eastern end of the temple, one comes to that part which, facing the rising sun, was appropriately adorned with sculpture of a universal interest and significance, — sculpture that should appeal not merely to Greece but to all the nations of the world. Here was represented the birth of Athena. The scene is bounded on either side, at the extreme angles of the pediment, by the rising sun and the sinking moon. On the one hand the horses of the chariot of the sun are seen rising from the sea, and the arms

of the god that guided them are holding the reins ; while on the other hand are the horses and the chariot of Selene. Hence, the sculpture represented the whole visible world, bounded only by light and darkness. The morning, the spring of life, was indicated by the rising of the sun, and was appropriate to the bursting into life of this offspring of the thought of Zeus. It was the Greek rendering of the words famous to us in other associations : " And God said, Let there be light ; and there was light." Unhappily, it is impossible, from the broken fragments that remain, to determine what was the central group of this magnificent series of sculpture ; but, even in their ruined condition, the figures of this eastern pediment of the Parthenon claim our admiration as the noblest work of Athenian sculpture that we possess. It is hardly safe to go beyond the assertion that Zeus and Athena were here represented, but what attitudes they had toward each other is uncertain. It is supposed by some writers that the scene was the actual springing of Athena from the head of Zeus, and that she was represented above his head, hovering in the air, and that Hephæstus was standing by with the axe by which he had liberated her ; but this is one of the crude and least poetical conceptions of the birth of the goddess. The spirited passage of the Homeric hymn is better, where we are told of the birth of Athena, starting from the brain of Zeus, full grown and full armed. It is probable that in the centre of the group Zeus was seated in his majesty, and that by his side stood the daughter of his brain, with all the glory she was to have as the ideal Athena ; then surrounding this central group were probably the great gods of Olympus, standing or seated, receiving the intelligence of the birth. At the left and not far from the centre was a goddess with flowing garments and active figure, showing that she was hastening away to carry the glad tidings ; she is generally called Iris. At her left are two seated figures of women, their heads gone and their arms broken, and yet so noble in their attitude and drapery that one can see how

majestic they must have been when perfect ; they are often called Demeter and Persephone. Still further to the left is a figure, which, though sadly mutilated, is one of the exceptional pieces of Greek sculpture. It is often called the Dionysus or the Theseus, and exhibits the power of the artist in conceiving dignified repose. On the right of the centre fewer figures remain than on the left, but there are three which are among the most splendid works ever conceived or executed by human hands ; these are figures of women, two seated, and the third reclining in the lap of the second. They are sometimes thought to represent the Fates, but probably were not so intended. There is no other sculpture of the female figure in the world so intelligent and so full of abundant heroic life as these forms, and no other drapery carved so skilfully to conceal and yet to reveal the form of the body.

The metope under this supreme group of statues represents the great myth of the contest between the gods and the giants, determined, according to the old account, by the interposition of Athena herself. This victory meant the triumph of the principles of eternal right and order over the powers of evil. Of the figures of this metope there are but few that remain in such a condition as to give a true idea of their original character, for they are almost as mutilated as those of the western end of the temple.

The sculpture of the Parthenon which generally attracts the most interest, and which in some respects is really the most remarkable sculpture with which the beautiful building was adorned, is that of the long frieze running round the outside of the cella wall, at the top. It is not broken by triglyphs, like the outer frieze of the temple, but is a continuous series of figures, the Greek name for which is zophoros. It is at a height of thirty-nine feet above the pteroma or passageway, and was with difficulty seen, for the passage was less than twelve feet wide. This frieze ran completely round the temple, nearly five hundred and twenty-three feet, an enormous

distance to cover with sculpture, for the width of the frieze was three feet three and one quarter inches. The figures are in low relief, not more than two inches on an average ; they stand one against another, sometimes three or four deep ; and yet so admirable is the sculpture that it gives a full and sufficient representation of the various figures which entered into the scenes. The greater part of the frieze is now in the British Museum, and can there be studied to a much greater advantage than it could have been in the original building. It has been less injured than the other sculpture of the Parthenon, and enough remains to give a very satisfactory idea of the whole. Like the sculpture on the outside of the temple, the figures of this frieze were devoted to the honor of Athena and the glory of the city. It appears to be a poetic representation of the concluding procession of the great Pan-Athenaic games, which once in four years went through the streets of Athens, and ended by marching up the western steps of the acropolis, through the Propylæa and around the Parthenon, while the winners of the games went into the temple to receive their prizes. The procession was composed not only of Athenians proper, but of delegates from the colonies and cities bound to Athens by different ties of treaty or subjugation ; it displayed not only the splendor of the city, but the extent of her power and the richness of her resources, — a procession composed not only of men and women on foot and on horseback, but of animals offered as sacrifices to Athena. In this sculptured frieze, the course of the figures is from the western end, along both sides of the temple, to the eastern end. The procession starts at the south-west corner, and here are seen figures in preparation for the march ; two horses are here introduced, ready for mounting. The procession passes along the western side towards the north, with here and there an interruption, as an unruly horse facing the south. After passing round the north-west corner, however, the march is steadily towards the eastern end, where the procession is reviewed by an assembly of the great gods.

In looking at the sculpture, one is struck with some peculiar characteristics. The shape of the horses corresponds with the description of a good horse as given by Xenophon, quite different from the shape of horses preferred to-day. The body of the horse is fuller and the head shorter; one readily sees how the horse's mane and tail were cut and sometimes braided, and also the admirable horsemanship of the Athenian youth, the perfect relation between the rider and the steed. There is another noticeable characteristic, in accord with the Grecian principle of bas reliefs, and yet one that would hardly attract attention till pointed out, — the fact that both men and horses are represented with their heads on the same level. This, of course, is not according to nature, and yet it is so skilfully done as to attract the attention of none but trained observers. There is a great variety of figures and objects in this frieze, all of which are mentioned in Mrs. Mitchell's "History of Sculpture"; and a full analysis of almost every figure is given in the valuable essay of Michaelis on the subject.

The procession of figures passes round the building to the eastern end, and here the sculpture takes one more step of elevation. It is marvellous that it was possible for the sculptor to exhibit a still higher grace and nobility of beauty than he had on the sides of the Parthenon. But here in the centre of the eastern end, above the door of entrance into the cella, were the representations of the great gods. On the one side were Zeus, Hera, and five other figures, and on the other Athena, Hephæstus, Poseidon, Apollo, Aphrodite, and a few other divinities a little uncertain. These groups were divided by five figures, — a priest, a priestess, a youth, and two women. There is scarcely anything in Greek art more admirable than the action and characteristics of the divinities here assembled to preside at the great festival of the Athenian people.

All the works of sculpture on the Parthenon, dedicated as they were to the glory of Athena, — the works outside and the

frieze that was within the columns of the temple, — all were, so to speak, an introduction leading up to the supreme work of sculpture within the naos, — the great statue of Athena herself. It was a colossal figure, standing in the niche at the western end of the naos, and reaching nearly to the ceiling, forty feet at least in height. It was made, not of marble nor of bronze, but of gold and ivory, formed over a frame-work of wooden beams and iron bars. There were great difficulties in the work, that taxed the genius of Phidias to the utmost, for it required a very different order of treatment from sculpture in marble or in bronze. It would not do to give the large ideals of life to such figures; the preciousness of the material required the most elaborate treatment of every part of the work, for no great masses of unchiseled gold could exist without making the figure appear dull and heavy. The gleam of the golden surface must be diminished by carving upon it; the surface of the ivory must be moulded as exquisitely as the form of the human body, that it might not appear dead, and wanting the vitality which the qualities of the material demanded. The accounts which the ancients give of this statue indicate the effect it produced on their imaginations, but they lack the detail necessary in order to reconstruct it. Pausanias relates that the statue was standing, clothed with a tunic which reached to the feet. On the breast was the figure of the Gorgon, and on the head of the goddess was the casque or helmet, in the middle of which was the Sphinx and on either side the Griffins. The right arm of Athena was extended, and on her hand rested the figure of Niké or Victory, itself over six feet in height. A lance passed through the left hand of the goddess, which rested on a shield at her side. The shield was adorned on the outer side with representations of the combat of the Athenians with the Amazons, and on the inner side with the contest between the gods and the giants. The feet of the goddess rested on sandals, and the edges of the soles of the sandals were illustrated with scenes from the contest

between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ. The base of the statue was also ornamented with carving, every part of the immense figure being elaborated to the highest degree.

Certain small copies of this great statue have been found, which serve to give a more vivid idea of the original. From one of the best of these it appears that the extended arm of the goddess rested on a column, probably of the Doric order. This gave the goddess an appearance of greater stability, and the regular lines of the column, furnishing a marked contrast to the delicate curves of the garments of Athena, greatly enhanced their effect. All the parts of the statue that represented flesh were of ivory; the rest were of gold. These gold plates were so arranged that they could be taken off and weighed. The account of the gold given out to Phidias from the treasury was carefully kept; and it is said that after the completion of the statue the gold plates were weighed, and their sum found to equal exactly the weight of gold taken.

The building that stood nearest the Parthenon on the acropolis was the Erechtheum. It was built on the site of the old temple of Athena Polios, but the date of its completion is uncertain. Owing to its position, so near the Parthenon, it was necessary to give it such characteristics as would distinguish it, especially since it was a building of much smaller dimensions. The necessary contrast with the Parthenon was secured by the adoption of the Ionic style, which, though originally derived from the races of the East, especially Assyria and Persia, was in its developed forms as peculiar to Greece as the Doric style itself.

The most marked difference between the Doric and Ionic styles of architecture is observed first in the character of the columns. Beginning at the base of the column, the first thing that one notices is that the shaft is set on a special base, and does not rest directly on the stylobate. (Reber, pp. 230-234.) The base is composed of several members, all generally carved from one block. Supposing each mem-

ber of the base to be a separate part, we speak of the lowest member as a square block or plinth ; the second, resting on the plinth, is the tore or torus ; and the third, the scotia. The tore is like a rounded moulding, swelling out with a curve which varied according to the taste of the artist ; while the scotia, which surmounts it, is a hollow curved moulding, exactly the reverse of the tore. The scotia derived its name from the deep shadow it cast. In some columns these mouldings are duplicated, tores and scotias alternating with each other. Thus there was a play of light and shade in the first member of the Ionic column, in which the architect displayed great variety and taste. The shaft of the column, as in the Doric style, is composed of drums, and the whole column is generally perpendicular, very few being inclined. The flutings differ from those of the Doric style, in that they are semi-circles in section, and, instead of meeting in arrises, they are separated by a strip or fillet. There is a similar play of light and shade on the Ionic as on the Doric column ; but the outline of the Ionic column is much less sharply defined than the other, because the breadth of the fillet preserves the cylindrical character of the shaft. In the capital there is a still greater difference ; the echinus is represented, but the massive abacus of the Doric style is replaced by a very thin plate, narrower than the echinus. The echinus itself is carved, being covered almost entirely with a spiral roll, which gives to the whole capital its most striking character. This roll, or helix, as it is called, was imported from the East, where it had been used for centuries ; indeed, it was one of the most common ornaments found in Egyptian, Assyrian, and Persian decoration ; but the Greeks were the first to develop it into an architectural member of importance. The curve of the roll is sometimes exceedingly beautiful, and is among the most exquisite of the curves employed by the Greek architects. From its entire aspect the Ionic column possesses a more individual existence than the Doric ; for, while an Ionic column might stand alone as an ornamental work, a

Doric column always suggests its function as a part of the whole, if it is separated from the building to which it belongs. Indeed, the Ionic column is so refined in its ornamentation as to have at times too great a distinction ; by attracting attention to itself, it detracts from the impression of the building as an organic unity.

The structure above the column was also different. There was the epistyle, of course, generally stepped, as it is called ; that is, apparently made of three beams, each projecting over the one below it. The frieze above the epistyle contained no triglyphs, but was a continuous band of sculpture, like the internal frieze of the Parthenon. Above the frieze came the cornice, with a much more elaborate moulding than that of the Doric style. In short, the Ionic style, as a whole, is one in which the details are carried out to a much higher degree of elaboration than the Doric ; the parts of the Ionic temples are given a certain elegance which distinguishes them from the severe gravity of the Doric constructions. The proportions also of the building are different : the height of the column is greater in proportion to its diameter, and there is very little entasis on an Ionic column, in the best examples being hardly noticeable ; and the diminution of the shaft from the base to the capital is very much less than in the Doric style. The system of proportions in the Ionic buildings is not so elaborate as in the Doric structures, and, although there was more ornamentation, yet the style is less noble and grave ; it appeals less to the intellect of the observer, and more to his external senses.

The Erechtheum being, as we have said, a building of much smaller dimensions than the Parthenon, it was determined to use in its construction the lighter and more elegant Ionic style, and to adopt certain peculiar modifications which should make the Erechtheum an individual structure, and more completely contrasted with the Parthenon than an ordinary Ionic building would be. The temple was divided into four parts. (See plan of Erechtheum, in Reber, pp. 242,

243.) The entrance had an exquisite colonnade of six columns, which led into the cella, with no fore-court or hall before it, and in the cella was the principal shrine of Athena Polios. Behind the cella or naos was another room of almost equal size, and these two were divided from a third room by a wall in which were windows; the use of the last room is uncertain. The level of the acropolis where the temple stands is very irregular, and hence there were stairs outside the building on the north of the eastern colonnade, leading to a very beautiful porch in the Ionic style, which covered the most sacred spot on the acropolis, — the place where Poseidon is supposed to have struck his trident on the rock, and to have produced the spring which there bubbles up; and close by was the spot where Athena caused the sacred olive-tree to grow. The porch is called the Porch of the Caryatides, named from the female figures by which the entablature and flat roof of the structure are supported. These figures stood on an admirably proportioned substratum, which was designed with a very definite ratio of its height to the height of the figures upon it, and the members of the architecture they were to bear. Dividing the building into three portions, — the horizontal marble ceiling, the virgins, and the base on which they stood, — one finds a definite ratio between them. Nothing can exceed the delicacy of the carving, nor the beauty of the sculptured figures of the virgins; they have a fulness of dignity and grace, and appear to bear the weight of the ceiling with perfect ease. The union of the sculptural and the architectural character in these figures is very remarkable. They are sculptures which belong to the best period of Greek art.

At the western end of the acropolis was the splendid gateway, the Propylæa, which was erected between 437 and 432 B. C. It was intended not only as an ornamental gateway and entrance to the summit of the rock, but also as a means by which the summit could be defended. To one approaching the acropolis from the western slope, the first part of the

Propylæa to be seen is a Doric porch with six columns, and little advancing wings on either side, the south wing narrower than the northern, on account of the lack of space. The surface of the ground at this part of the acropolis rises rapidly from the western front of the Propylæa, so that the six columns of the eastern portico stand on a higher level than those of the western; but the two porticos have the same elevation above the ground, thus tending to make the summit of the building of different heights at the two ends. This of course greatly complicated the construction of the roof, and it is not known how the architects solved the problem.

The two wings of the building, advancing a little to the front of the main porch, contained the side entrances to the acropolis, while the central part of the main hall was occupied by a wide, open pathway, through which it is supposed the procession passed at the conclusion of the Pan-Athenaic games. This central passageway, over eleven feet wide, compelled a division of the columns in front into two sets of three, which required an alteration in the frieze above them; so that the space between the two central columns was occupied by two triglyphs and metopes, instead of one, as was usually the case. The triglyphs and metopes were carved from one block, the metopes being left plain. The wings were lower than the main building, and had Doric columns of smaller size; like the front, they were furnished with all the other important parts of a Doric temple, — epistyle, frieze, cornice, and pediment.

To protect the entrance to the acropolis, an ornamental bronze grating was thrown across from column to column on both the wings and the front, and there was a great gate that closed the central passageway during the night. The smaller wing on the southern side is said to have been used as a guard-house; while the northern one became very famous, in the later days of Athens, as the picture gallery, in which were preserved some of the most famous paintings of the fourth and fifth centuries B. C.

One curious fact has been discovered lately, — the Propylæa was never completely finished. Although the work was carried so far that the general effect could not be improved, yet the details of the finish of the walls, and of other parts of the building, were left rough. A reason for this may perhaps be found in the fact that the enormous expense incurred in the erection and adornment of the other buildings on the acropolis had reduced the finances of the city to a low point ; and the Peloponnesian War, which began almost immediately afterward, absorbed the remainder. The slight but striking evidence of the lack of finish in the work has been pointed out with great detail in the best work on the building that has been written, — a beautiful folio volume in German, by Bohn.

The object of the Propylæa was not to celebrate the honor of any of the divinities, nor the glory of the city itself ; it was a building for practical use ; and one may assume that it would not have been appropriate to adorn it with sculpture of the kind that was fitted for the pediment of such a building as the Parthenon. There was, however, a great deal of sculpture immediately around it, various statues and groups of figures near the eastern colonnade, among the most interesting of which may be mentioned the group of the Graces. But the building itself was left simple ; it was unadorned with sculptured figures, while in its general plan, in the exquisiteness of its proportions, and the elegance of its details, it was well fitted as an architectural structure for its use as an entrance to the acropolis.

There was another building close by the Propylæa on the advanced bastion at the south-west corner of the acropolis, — the little temple of Niké Apteros, Wingless Victory. It was so elaborately adorned that it formed as striking a contrast with the simplicity of the Propylæa as did the temple of Athena Polios with the Parthenon. Some of the most beautiful bas reliefs that belong to Athenian art were arranged as a protecting wall around the northern and east-

ern edge of the building. This little temple has been curiously preserved, from the fact that during the time of the Turkish occupation of Athens it was taken down and used to strengthen an earthwork in the fortification of the acropolis; when the earthwork was destroyed, the stones were found in such a condition that they could be restored to their original places.

CHAPTER X.

GREECE (*continued*).

SOON after the completion of the Propylæa and the adornment of the Parthenon, the strained relations which had long existed between Athens and Sparta reached such a point that it was evident that open hostilities must soon begin. It is probable that Pericles had seen that a war was inevitable, and had brought about the long truce between the two powers, in the hope that Athens might become strong enough to make her victory certain. The root of the trouble, from which the Peloponnesian War finally arose, lay in the jealousy of Sparta on account of the growing power of Athens. This jealousy was shared also by the allies of Sparta, and the ill-feeling extended to some of the minor states under the Athenian rule. Another cause of the war was the hostility which still existed, even in Athens, between the adherents to aristocratic institutions and the democratic elements of the state; for, though Athens was governed by a democracy, there still remained a large body of citizens, men of influence and wealth, to whom the democratic institutions were objectionable. The most striking account of the condition of feeling in Athens previous to the declaration of war is that given by Thucydides, in chapter 139 of the first book of his History.

It was in 431 B. C. that the war broke out between the Spartans and the Athenians, — a war that lasted for twenty-seven years, and resulted in the ruin of Athens. In the first year of the war the Spartans made an invasion of Attica, and its inhabitants were compelled to take refuge in Athens.

Although the ravages of the Athenian fleet along the coast of the Peloponnesus compelled the Spartans to withdraw, yet the remainder of the year 431 B. C. was very unfavorable to Athens, and this may be taken as the closing year of the glory and power of the city. The genius of the Athenians did not die out, but after this time it did not exhibit itself in such lofty ways as before. However, some of the most famous Athenians lived during the period of the Peloponnesian war. The names of three men rise at once, — men whose fame and influence still have a power in the world, — Plato, Socrates, and Aristophanes. Socrates was at his best at the time of the war; Plato was studying with him, and growing to be the great idealistic philosopher of the world. The third, Aristophanes, was one of the most remarkable of Athenians in the field of expression. But at the same time there was a growth of spurious great men, like Alcibiades and Cleon, who shared in the talents so general at Athens, but who used their gifts for personal ends, and showed that selfishness, that lack of control and spirit of excess, which marked the reaction against the long-continued self-discipline of the Athenian race.

During the winter of 431 B. C. there was a cessation of hostilities, and, in accordance with an old national custom, the Athenians celebrated with public services the funeral of those who had fallen in the preceding campaign. Thucydides, in the second book of his History, pages 47 to 54, describes the ceremonies on this occasion, and the funeral oration of Pericles, which stands among the noblest expressions of the human race in oratory. It is one of the most remarkable speeches that have come down from antiquity, and is the more interesting, because it is not so much the commemoration of the dead that fell in the war as it is the funeral oration of Athens herself. It was the fitting memorial discourse over the glory that had passed away, — the glory of the greatest community that the world has known.

The hope with which the Athenians began the war with

the Spartans, and the confidence with which Pericles had endeavored to inspire them at the close of the first campaign, were both disappointed in the year 430 B. C. by a second successful invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians. For forty days the country was ravaged, and an immense amount of harm done. Then, almost immediately after the withdrawal of the Spartans, the plague broke out at Athens for the first time ; it had a terrible effect, for it destroyed the continuity of the historic life of the city. The great majority of the older citizens, the generation on whom the moral character of the people had rested, were taken away by the plague, so that few remained to keep up the spirit which had prevailed from 480 to 440 B. C., and to impress that spirit on the younger men of Athens. The plague was so universal and disastrous that a spirit of despondency fell on all the people. The old ties of social life were broken up, and in many cases the succession to estates was lost, so that a great deal of property, being left without an owner, was taken possession of by unprincipled men, — in fact, the moral disposition of the city was essentially lowered by the effect of the plague. Coming as it did at the time of the war, it greatly disheartened the Athenians, who, in their madness, turned upon their leader, Pericles. He was heavily fined by a popular vote, and for a time deposed from his office of General of State. It must have been a great blow to him ; it must have brought to him conviction that his policy had failed ; and it is not surprising that, in the next year, when the Spartans again besieged the city, and the plague broke out a second time, Pericles was one of its victims. His place in the leadership of Athens was taken almost immediately by men of the new order, — men who had no relations with the earlier life of Athens. Cleon, the most noticeable of the so-called demagogues, now began to take an important part in public affairs. In the *Knights of Aristophanes* there is a sketch of Cleon, which, though greatly exaggerated, is a tolerably good representation of the man. With him were

men of similar temper, especially one named Hyperbolos, of whom Thucydides gives a very striking account. These men were selfish and arrogant ; they lacked foresight, and, though they were able to touch the feelings of the crowd, they had no wisdom for public or private interests.

In addition to the precedence of individuals among the Athenians, and that great source of disaster, the breaking of the historic continuity and the superstitious effect of the plague, there was another cause which tended to hasten the deterioration of the Athenian character ; and that was, the uncertain chance and fortune of the war. In 428 B. C. the Lacedæmonians once more invaded Attica, and there was a revolt of the large islands, Lesbos and Mitylene, — both discouraging to the Athenians. In 427 B. C. came still another invasion by the Spartans ; but during the next three years, although there was a fifth invasion of Attica, the advantage was on the side of Athens, and the Spartans began to despond. This variation of the fortune of war led to a constant change of feeling in the minds of the Athenians : sometimes they were rendered despairing by the successes of the Lacedæmonians, sometimes they were exuberant on account of their own success ; thus they lost by degrees their self-control, which was succeeded by violent emotion. All this decline and degeneracy of Athens, enforced and brought about in large measure by the events of the time, was, it may be concluded, not altogether unnatural. It was a reaction from a strain too long continued. The moral exaltation which had resulted from the victory of the Athenians over the Persians, the intense strain of the rebuilding of the city, the tremendous efforts which had been put forth for a generation to lift Athens to that point of glory which she attained about the year 440 B. C., were more than any community could sustain without undergoing some reaction ; and, when events favored such a reaction, its force became such that no moral principles were sufficient to resist it.

The change that was coming over the Athenians mani-

fested itself in all the forms of expression, especially in the fine arts ; and there is no more striking illustration of the fact that the fine arts offer the best means for judging of the general moral and intellectual standing of a people, than that afforded by a comparison of the fine arts of Athens before and after the war. Literature, architecture, sculpture, and painting, all illustrate it ; and if every record of the history were destroyed, and the works of art of the years from 460 to 420 B. C. retained, we should be able to read from them, not the exact nature of the incidents in detail, but the manner in which they affected the moral and intellectual life of the people ; and in this respect history has been very ill written. It is a comparatively new idea that it is the fine arts that reveal the true life of the people ; that events are external, while the fine arts are the expression of the internal condition of the race, of their minds and souls. Events are only of importance as they affect character ; it is the fine arts that display this effect on character. A true history of Greece, one that would show the real importance of the lessons which Greece has to teach, would be a history of the progress of literature, and an account of the work of the fine arts of the time ; but such a history is yet to be written satisfactorily. Curtius's History approaches nearer to the ideal than Grote's, for Grote leaves the literature and the fine arts almost entirely aside. Curtius has some reference to them, but he does not bring them into the most intimate connection with the life of the people.

In literature, sculpture, and painting, the characteristic change after 430 B. C., which it is of the utmost importance to notice, is the substitution of a different motive in the work, — the substitution of pathos, of what one may call the pathetic element, for ethos, the ethical or moral element. The modern phrase "sensational" is an approximate definition of this new character. The difference is that which exists between melodrama and tragedy ; between a work of art, the main object of which is to excite the sentiment and

touch the feeling, without producing any further effect, and one which moves the soul and affects the intelligence at the same time. This change is exhibited in the sculpture of the last third of the century. There is no longer any of that noble, serious, permanently impressive quality which belongs to the sculpture of Phidias. There is no repetition of any such work as that magnificent procession in the frieze of the Parthenon, in which the large, healthy types of a city and community are exhibited in noble forms. There is no longer anything like the stately and sublime grandeur of the figures in the pediment of the Parthenon; but in place of it there is passionate sculpture, — sculpture in which the action is intensely violent, in which the permanent tranquillity of the soul never appears, but in which the emotion and stress of any incident in which the passions are engaged are portrayed with all the skill and power which has been transferred from the earlier sculptors to the later. And, strangely enough, in architecture also, an art which one would suppose to be tolerably remote from the influence of the passions or the emotions, one can trace the effect of the change of disposition of the people. This is especially marked in the deterioration of the Doric capital. If we take the temples built in the earlier time, we notice a gradual improvement, an increase of beauty in the proportions, curves, and general lines of the Doric capital, till we reach the Parthenon, where there is as perfect an arrangement as has ever been conceived of by man. Then, taking a few instances of a later time, we see the exquisite proportions of the capital gradually disappear; it is very, very striking. One of the best illustrations that a Greek history could have would be at the beginning of each chapter of the history a profile of the Doric column of the time; these profiles would give the curve of the rise and fall of Greece.

Although Athens was the chief seat of artistic activity during the middle of the fifth century B. C., there was a great deal of production of art at other cities, and espe-

cially at Argos, where sculpture in bronze was very active. The chief representative of these bronze sculptors was Polyclitus, an artist whose fame at this time was almost as great as that of Phidias. He was a native of Sicyon, but the most of his life seems to have been spent at Argos; like Phidias, he was a pupil of Ageladas. His style of work, however, was unlike that of Phidias, not only on account of the materials which he used, but because his genius was different. According to the ancient writers, no artist of antiquity surpassed Polyclitus in the exquisiteness of his finish; but he could not compare with Phidias in the dignity which he gave to his figures. There is a striking passage about Polyclitus, in the third book of Quintilian, which seems justified in what we know about his work. The character of criticism among the ancients in regard to literature or art was very different from what it is to-day. Their historic examples were too few to admit of that comparative criticism which is usually the best mode. There was little among the ancients of that mode of criticism of which St. Beuve was the master, and of which Arnold and Lowell are the best in our own literature. Among the Greeks a great critic was Aristotle, in whose book on poetics there are some very striking and serviceable remarks. Lucian also was a man of great discrimination and wit, and his "Obiter Dicta" shows an acute and keen sense of the character of his time. A little later came Pausanias, who was rather a describer of works of art than an analyzer. Among the Romans one finds very little of definite criticism. Cicero gives now and then a judgment on a work of art, and his criticism is that of a cultured man, a lover of art, and a good judge of oratory. But these critics, although men of culture and art, whether poets, orators, or sculptors, very seldom go to the root of the matter; they remain external. Pliny in his history is more like Pausanias; he gives a great number of observations, but his is not the judgment of a keen mind, but rather that of a comparatively intelligent and well-informed man. Plutarch was a thinker,

but he had no special interest in art ; he simply used his good sense and right feeling. The lack of prejudice in his work, however, makes it of permanent value. Quintilian was the only one of the ancients whose criticism approached the modern method. He said of Polyclitus that in his finish and "decor" (appropriate beauty) Polyclitus was superior to others to whom the palm was given; yet he lacked "pondus," — weight, substantial excellence. He avoided "ætatem graviores" (advanced age) in his work, and attempted nothing but "smooth cheeks," — that is, he sculptured none but the figures of young persons.

The most famous works of Polyclitus are figures of athletes and heroes of an athletic character, as Hercules. His statue of the Amazon is a very famous one, and there is an interesting story told of it by Pliny. It is said that a statue was required for the temple at Ephesus, and the most celebrated artists were asked to compete. Four sculptors tried for the prize, — Polyclitus, Phidias, Cresilas, and Phradmon, — and each naturally gave to his own work the first place; but the last three admitted that the statue of Polyclitus deserved the second place, thus implying that his work was superior to all.

Although by far the greater part of the work of Polyclitus was in bronze, and not in marble, the most famous of all his attempts at a high idealistic figure was a chryselephantine statue of Hera, which is described at length by Pausanias. But the works which gave to Polyclitus his greatest fame among the ancients were two figures which may well be called ideal statues of athletes. The first of these was the Doryphoros, the spear-bearer; and the second, the Diadoumenos, a youth binding a fillet around his forehead. Of both of these statues numerous reproductions have been preserved, all in marble, however, and therefore remote from the original, which was in bronze. It was the habit of the later Greek sculptors, mostly men of mere technical ability, to copy the famous works of the old masters, slightly varying

the motive of the work, changing the proportions, and giving perhaps a different turn to the head or the arms ; so that no one of the statues representing the Doryphoros or the Diadoumenos of Polyclitus can be assumed with certainty to be the precise copy of the original. The interest in these two athletic figures of Polyclitus lies not merely in their ancient fame, but in the fact that they were so admirable in their proportions that to the Doryphoros was given the name of canon or rule, for it showed the human figure in its ideal proportions.

The two great names of the fourth century are Scopas and Praxiteles, both men of genius, and so in conformity with the time that after their death their works, of which we have a considerable number, were very often confounded. When Pausanias visited Olympia, he was interested in the very ancient temple of Hera, which contained the famous chest of Kypselos, and other renowned objects, among which was a marble image of Hermes carrying the babe Dionysus, — a work of Praxiteles. No reproduction of this sculpture is known to have survived ; but about fifteen years ago, some Germans, in excavating at Olympia, found a marble statue, a little more than life size, lying on its face before a broken pedestal. They recognized it as the statue Pausanias had described, — the figure of Hermes bearing the infant Dionysus. It was comparatively uninjured, and is the one certain work of Praxiteles that the world contains.

There are no works of Scopas now extant that can compare in importance with this work of Praxiteles ; but we have a great many imitations of what was supposed to be his work by copyists of the time of the Roman Empire. The variety of the work of Scopas was perhaps even greater than that of Praxiteles, but there is not one of the works of either of the men which exhibits the sculpture inspired by noblest aims ; their works are all meant for charm, and not for the elevation of character. They exhibit great technical skill, an immense richness of fancy, and a graceful ideal of the

human figure in action ; but they are addressed to the feeling, and not to the intelligence.

One of the noblest works of ancient times, sometimes ascribed to Scopas and sometimes to Praxiteles, is the statue of Niobe and her children. It is an extremely interesting group, for it represents in a most wonderful manner the character of the work of the fourth century. In the sculpture of this time there are no instances in which the gods appear in noble relations to man ; on the contrary, Apollo and Artemis are represented with human passions, avenging an insult that one would suppose the gods might well overlook. The way in which this vengeance was taken was calculated to incite the most passionate emotions ; and the figures of Niobe and her children represent the extreme of human passion and suffering. As regards the refinement of the touch, however, and the power of expression of the human emotions, no work of art is superior to it.

The most noted sculptor in the whole period after Praxiteles and Scopas had done their chief work was Lysippus, the favorite sculptor of Alexander the Great. By birth Lysippus belonged to Sicyon ; but he united in his work the traditions of the schools of both Sicyon and Argos. These two cities stood not far from each other, and consequently exhibit many qualities of art in common. In comparison with the school of Athens, the most striking characteristic of the school of Sicyon is perhaps the lack of ideal quality. Lysippus, like Polyclitus, showed a preference for working in bronze rather than marble ; he had a long life, and the number of his works is enormous. Naturally enough, one finds the sculpture of Lysippus and his contemporaries no longer the expression of the national sentiment, no longer having an æsthetic purpose, but the expression of personal taste in an art of display. Works made for the gratification of an emperor like Alexander, or for individuals accustomed to luxury and to the gratification of their desires, would not be works in which the sculpture was the channel through which the sentiment of

the age found expression. The great gods were no longer represented; and, curiously enough, the gods chosen by Lysippus were mainly those which could be represented so as to produce splendid decorative effects. For example, Apollo is no longer the god of song and of music, but represented under the form of Helios, the god of the sun, and his chariot is carved in a most magnificent way; he is no longer an etherial monarch, but is like some earthly conqueror. Lysippus had a fondness also for allegorical representation, one of his famous works being a statue of Kairos, or Opportunity. The figure is in animated motion, as if in flight. As the figure moves forward, there is a long lock of hair in front, but the head is bald behind, expressing in this allegorical fashion the right use of opportunity. As it approaches, one can seize it by the fore-lock; but as it goes by, one has only the bald head behind, which affords no chance for a grasp.

Lysippus was famous also for his statues of athletes, and he improved on the canon of Polyclitus. His famous statue of the Apoxyomenos, the athlete scraping himself with a strigil after he had struggled in the ancient games, was one of the most famous types of the external beauty of the human figure. It was lighter and more exquisitely symmetrical than the Doryphoros of Polyclitus, and more in accordance with our own conception of a beautiful form.

Another very interesting fact in regard to the work of this century, one which illustrates the decline in the higher elements of the civilization and life of the Greeks, is that, among the multitude of works by Lysippus, there is hardly one of the female figure; it shows the general fact, that there was a decline in the character of the Greek women. This was one result of the carrying of the Greeks into Asia by Alexander; for the Greeks became impressed with the Oriental mode of regarding women as inferior to men. In Prof. Mahaffy's interesting yet misleading book on social life in Greece, is set forth the very common belief that, even in the fifth century, the

best period of Greek civilization, woman had a lower place as compared with man ; that the Greeks never gave to woman that position of equality which she deserves. There is some evidence to support this view, but there is also other evidence which is incontrovertible, leading us to believe that the position of women in Greece during the fifth century was one of dignity and equality, — one in which the higher qualities of the womanly character were well developed. This is evidence which the historians have passed over with entire neglect, — the evidence afforded by the sculpture of the times, by the conception of Athena as represented by Phidias, by the figures of women in the frieze of the Parthenon and in the pediment of the temple of Olympia, and by those of the Attic sepulchral monuments, — the evidence of the moral elevation of the women, and the beauty of their lives. If one takes, for example, the frieze of the Parthenon, in which the figures of Athenian women are represented in great numbers, one sees not merely the beauty of their physical forms, their external beauty, but also such grace and dignity and elegance as are proof of their inner qualities. It is quite incredible that the women should have been represented as they were on the frieze of the Parthenon, unless they were regarded as the essential equals of the men ; and it is quite incredible that there should have been such beauty to be represented, unless it was the expression of the life and character of the women themselves.

There is another point worth considering : the character of the child depends not alone on the character of his father, — he is the child of his mother also ; and in the qualities of the Athenian men, during the fifth century, one has evidence that the mothers must have presented qualities equal to the fathers. We never find a race of highly cultured and noble men in which the mothers are low and degraded. The women of the fifth century, as they appear in the immortal forms of the frieze of the Parthenon, exhibit a serenity of expression which shows that their lives must have been such

that their own ideals were satisfied ; they must have had an ampleness of experience and familiarity with the higher joys and sentiments of life.

One further point of evidence is that afforded by the tragedy. Is it possible that woman should have lacked an ample sphere for the expression of those qualities through which admiration and inspiration and love are wrought in others, if she was to present such ideals as those embodied in some of the most noble characters of tragedy, — Antigone, Electra, and others? It seems impossible to suppose that these conceptions of the tragedians were formed without some expression in the lives of the women which would suggest these high ideal qualities.

This evidence seems incontrovertible in regard to the high standing of the Greek women in the fifth century B. C. Equally incontrovertible also is the evidence afforded by the falling out of the women from the field of art during the fourth century, and by the degradation of the character of the goddesses in the work of the sculptors and painters of this later time. After the third century, the women play a very small part in Greek life ; the only figures of women found are like those of modern sculpture, — carved simply for the sake of the sensual attraction in them.

The splendor of the new cities that grew up during the last part of the fourth century B. C., after the death of Alexander, is well illustrated by the story of Pergamon, the chief city of the kingdom of Pergamon in Mysia. It was admirably situated, not far from the sea, and, like most Greek cities, had a magnificent rock rising in the centre. The river Caicus flowed through it, and about the year 300 B. C., Lysimachus, the king of Thrace, deposited his treasury there in the hands of one of his officers, who seized it and held the town, transmitting the power and treasure to Eumenes, who became king of Pergamon. During the third century B. C. the dynasty founded in this irregular manner enlarged its dominion and became very conspicuous, owing to the success of

King Attalus in defeating the Gauls, a very powerful, warlike race, who were the dread of the civilized people of this time. Attalus amassed an enormous fortune, and in 200 B. C. visited Athens, and, like a rich traveller, desired to leave some memorial behind him. He accordingly set up four monuments on the edge of the acropolis : the first representing the battle of the gods and the giants ; the second, the Athenians and the Amazons ; the third, the battle of Marathon ; and the fourth, which gave occasion to them all, the victory of King Attalus himself over the Gauls. It was as splendid a dedicatory offering of the kind as was ever set up in Athens, and the work was conducted by an artist who had probably been trained at Pergamon itself.

It was the victory of Attalus over the Gauls that served as the inspiration of the school of Pergamon, for it created a national feeling that made Pergamon for a time the chief centre of the later Greek art. The difference in the character of their works from those of the earlier period is very marked ; the skill of these sculptors was not less than that of the earlier masters, but their motive was different. There is great force of expression, great vigor of treatment, great intensity of pathos and emotion, in their figures. A novel character of their works is, that they represent the special types of the personages introduced ; the dress, ornaments, and armor, are characteristic of the races depicted. There was a still further development of this school under Eumenes II., who was on the throne of Pergamon in about 200 B. C. A very famous altar was dedicated to Athena Polios at this time ; there were two friezes attached to the work around the altar, one representing the conflict between the gods and the giants, and the other the story of Telephos. There is a splendid vigor and skill in the representation of the most animated action ; the art is still superb, but it no longer has the dignity, elevation, or significance, of the work of two centuries before. The work is interesting not merely in its intrinsic quality, but on account of its being the latest production of the Greek mind in sculpture.

Rhodes was another of the semi-oriental cities in which sculpture flourished during this century, and from this school came two or three works which have become very famous. The most noted of these is the group of Laocöon and his sons, — the group taken by Lessing as the subject of his famous essay on the limitations of the various arts. It has been described by Winckelmann, Goethe, and others, and for a long time was regarded as one of the chief works of Greek art; but this view is now altogether antiquated, and, instead of holding a very high position, it now has a comparatively low one. Pliny spoke of it as to be admired beyond all other known works of the Greeks, but Pliny was not a good judge; the taste of the Romans did not enable them to appreciate the nobility of the better work of the Greeks; and the intense dramatic quality, the exaggerated attitude and expression, of this group of Laocöon and his sons, attracted the uneducated Romans much as it has the later uncultivated visitors of the museums. There is an extraordinary skill in the management of the marble; it is a work of high, but purely external, technical excellence; it is the representation of physical suffering compelling a momentary excess of action. Hence it is altogether a work of the pathetic, and not of the ethic, art.

Another famous work of the school at Rhodes was known as the Farnese Bull; it is the most picturesque of the works of sculpture that have come down to us. It represents a very animated scene, in which the two twin brothers, Zethos and Amphion, are avenging the cruelty which has been practised on their mother, and are about to bind Dirke to the bull. There is nothing of a high quality in the sculpture except the external technical skill; but it remained a masterpiece of the ability with which the later sculptors dealt with the material, and it has come down to us in a condition of completeness which very few of the other ancient works possess.

Other famous works of this later period, many of them

found in the museums of Italy, Germany, France, and England, are the Apollo Belvedere, Venus di Medici, Venus di Milo, Diana or Artemis of Versailles, and also a famous group supposed to represent Orestes and Electra. All these belonged to this later time, when the moral quality of the sculpture had disappeared, and the art was practised to render the beauty of the body or for the expression of strong passionate emotion. The artists came mainly from Athens, and practised their art wherever there was a demand for it. From 150 B. C. to somewhere about the second or third century A. D., they did most of their work at Rome, where the wealthy rulers had a vast number of palaces to be adorned. These rich Romans knew the worth of sculpture only in relation to the furnishing of apartments, and they patronized the sculptors, and secured works which had a value only as beautiful ornaments of their chambers and halls.

There is a little subordinate branch of sculpture of which comparatively nothing was known till within the last twenty years ; this was the work of the potters and hand workers in clay on a very small scale. Their work is known under the name of Tanagra Figurines, so called from the fact that specimens of the art were first found in the graves near the ancient city of Tanagra in Bœotia. Similar works have since been found in many localities in Bœotia and Attica, and lately in large numbers from Asia Minor. There is a special interest in these little figures, because they reveal to us the skill, grace, and exquisiteness of conception of the workers in clay. They are found by the thousand, and are the more attractive because they represent the common life of the Greeks. One very pretty branch of this great group of work is composed of figures of women and children, playing with each other or with ideal figures, little Cupids. There is a most delicate group representing a nymph who has run a thorn into her foot, while a satyr is sitting on the ground beside her with an attitude of most intense interest, trying to extract it.

Another attraction of these figures is that many of them are painted completely, and others retain traces of paint ; so that one gets a general idea of the coloring of the Greek female dress, and also some knowledge of the colors applied to marble. These figures were very simply made from a mould, and the ridge formed by the edges of the mould was smoothed off with more or less care by the thumb or some other means. The parts of the figure were made in separate moulds, and put together to suit the taste of the artist ; so that different heads were fitted to similar bodies, giving a great variety of forms.

Another branch of Greek sculpture which is of importance, though it flourished late, was that of portraiture. It probably originated with the portraits of athletes, the earliest, as we have seen, being ideal figures of noble youths. Then came the likenesses ; but nothing is certainly known of any contemporary portraits before the fourth century B. C. There are figures found in the museums to which names are attached, as those of Homer and Sophocles, and there is a superb statue of Demosthenes. The busts of Homer are certainly nothing but imaginary representations ; Sophocles also seems more ideal than natural ; of Demosthenes one can speak with less certainty. There is a well-known bust of Pericles, but it was very likely made in later days, by an artist who desired to give an ideal representation of him. A great number of busts and statues of the later periods are known ; the Greek sculptors in Rome were employed by the rich to carve their likenesses, and there are many admirable portraits of the Roman emperors. These portrait statues are exceedingly interesting to students of history. Ampère, one of the foremost literary men in France during the last generation, has written a most interesting study of the history of Rome, as illustrated by the portraits of the Romans that have been handed down to us.

Little can be said about the art of painting among the Greeks, because there is not a single specimen of the works

of the Greek painters from which we can derive a true notion of the character of the art. Painting in the proper sense did not exist in the Homeric time ; there was, however, adornment in color, as in the figures on some of the shields described in the *Odyssey* of Homer ; and there were even pictures in embroidery, as we know from the description of Achilles's garments in the nineteenth book of the *Odyssey*. It is plain that, in the Homeric times, if there was no culture of the art of painting in the modern sense, there was at least an understanding of the art of delineation in color, in modes similar to those practised to-day. But these works were undoubtedly of Oriental origin ; for the Greeks made use of the elements of painting in precisely the same way as they used the elements of sculpture and of architecture ; they made an art of them, — an art of expression.

It was natural that sculpture should have been developed by the Greeks earlier than painting ; for, on the whole, it is not so difficult an art. Great as the difficulties of the sculptor are, and exquisite as is the refinement of his art, yet there is not required so much of technical discipline, there is not such a slow mastery over the difficulties, as in painting. The first painting was closely allied to sculpture ; the figure stood apart, with a background of one color. There was no acquaintance with the principles of foreshortening, nor of the gradations of light and shade that the Egyptians used ; there was no knowledge of the laws of perspective. But gradually, in the course of the fifth century B. C., this essential knowledge was gained, and the advance was then very rapid.

The first artist who reached the point of distinguishing the figures of men and women in his painting was Eumaros ; but the first really great painter, whose name will ever be remembered, was Polygnotus, who belonged to the early part of the fifth century B. C. He was educated at Athens, and did the most of his work there. Probably no other painter in ancient times received so much praise from artists themselves as did Polygnotus, for he was said to represent character as it

should be, — his painting had an ideal and elevating spirit. The painters of his time were attempting to represent scenes of dramatic action, but their technical skill was quite incompetent to represent all the figures in their natural relations to one another. They usually placed their figures two by two, or at most three in a group, and the groups represented different incidents of one scene.

After Polygnotus, a great advance seems to have been made in perspective by an artist named Agatharchos, the scene painter for the dramas of Sophocles. The scenery of the Greek theatre was of great importance in the presentation of the drama, for it was not changed during the play, although the wings admitted of some variation. Agatharchos was followed in much the same line by Apollodoros, of whom it was said that "he opened the doors of the art for Zeuxis to enter in." Zeuxis, who flourished about 390 B. C., was probably the first to possess all the technical qualities necessary for a great painter; but, according to Aristotle, he lacked pathos. Zeuxis took infinite pains with his work; and it is said that, when Agatharchos spoke of the rapidity with which he himself dashed off scenes for the stage, as compared with the slow manner in which Zeuxis worked, the latter replied, "I confess that I take a long time in painting, but I am painting for a long time." He meant that his works were to last, and that it was necessary for the most accurate and accomplished artist to take pains. Zeuxis may be compared with Scopas and Praxiteles; their work was very similar in quality and merit. Zeuxis painted the lighter gods, — Eros, Pan, and Heracles. His fame was universal, and we all know the story of his painting of the boy with the grapes which the birds came and pecked. This quality illusion was greatly admired by the ancients; but a painter who can paint grapes so that the birds will peck at them is not an artist of the highest kind. The birds would not have pecked at the grapes that Titian painted. This fact illustrates the condition of the art; the moment it became illusory, it

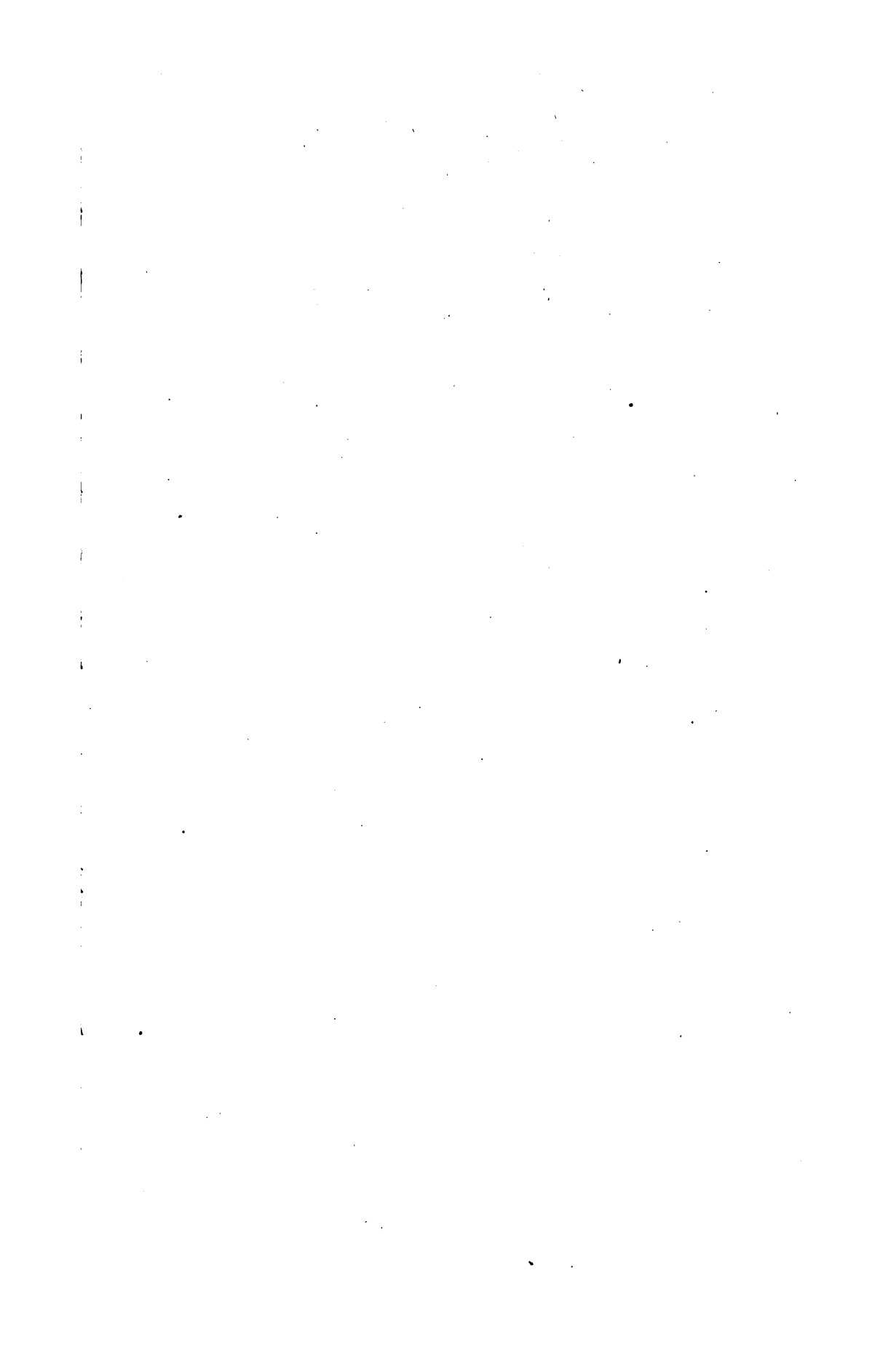
failed to have a place as an art of expression. We never mistake a photograph for the man himself; it is but a representation of the man,—it is art. An artist who attempts to produce an illusory effect lowers himself, for the very nature of an art is to express, and not to imitate; he is trying to effect what Mrs. Jarley's wax-works can do better. There is an indication of a lack of training in the fact that this quality of illusion was very much admired. But in the course of the century the art of painting rose, and reached its highest degree of fame in the work of Apelles and Protogenes. What is known of these artists is well collected in Woltmann's History of Painting; they belonged not to Athens, but to a school which flourished at Sicyon. The work of Apelles remains as a type of the most excellent work that can be accomplished by art. All know his famous saying,—which has been translated into the Latin, thus,—*Nulla dies sine linea*. We may take this as the motto of men who have done the work that deserves to be called the highest work of genius.

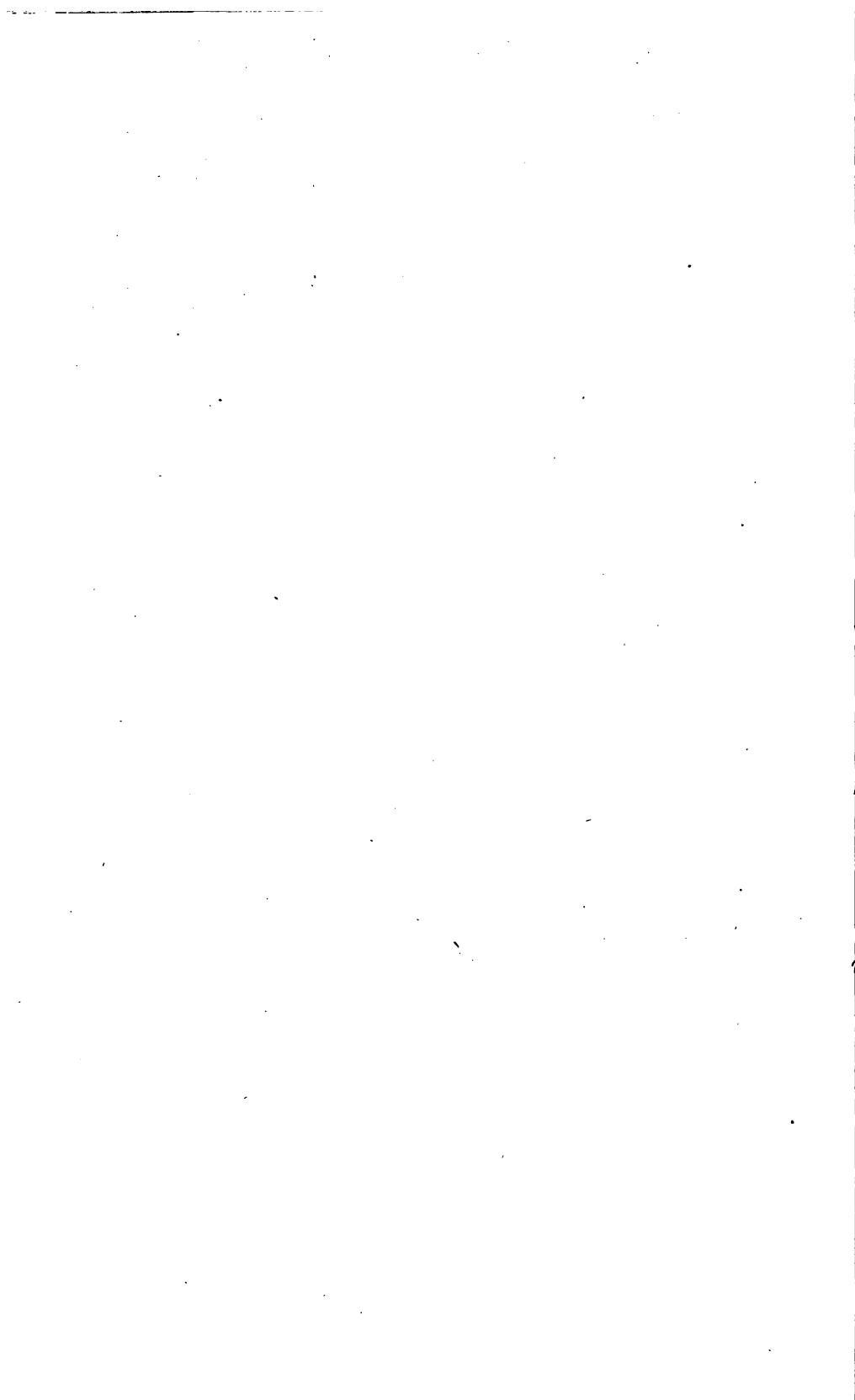
After the death of Apelles and Protogenes art declined, so that we have names of few noted men in the later time. Yet when one travels in Italy and Greece, and sees the remains of the painting and adornment of the walls, and the other work that has been handed down, one cannot fail to be impressed with the lingering trace of elegance and past greatness; and one is assured that, as art declined, the noble spirit of the Greek genius did not all depart from it.

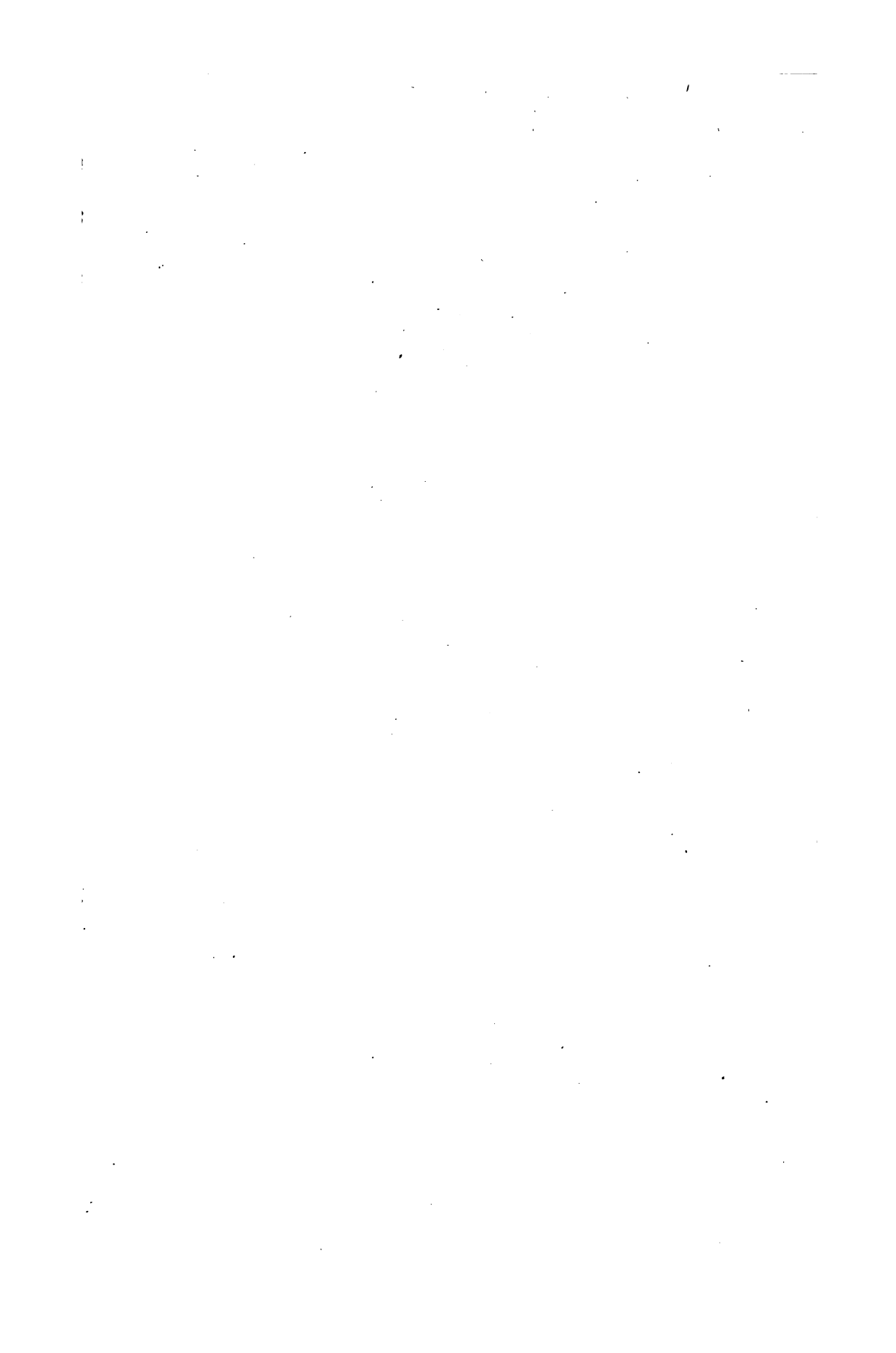
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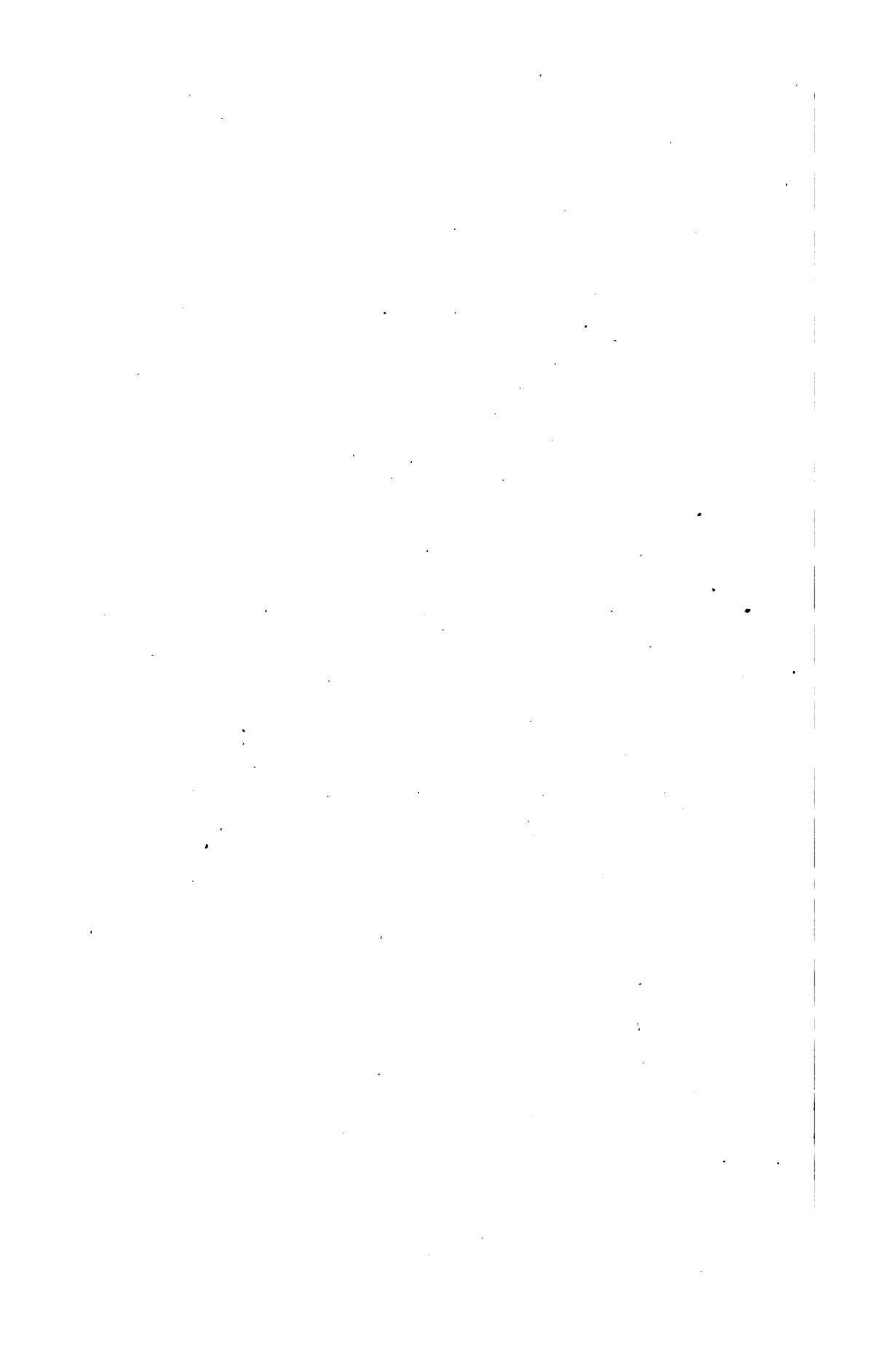
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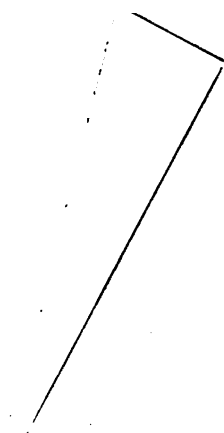
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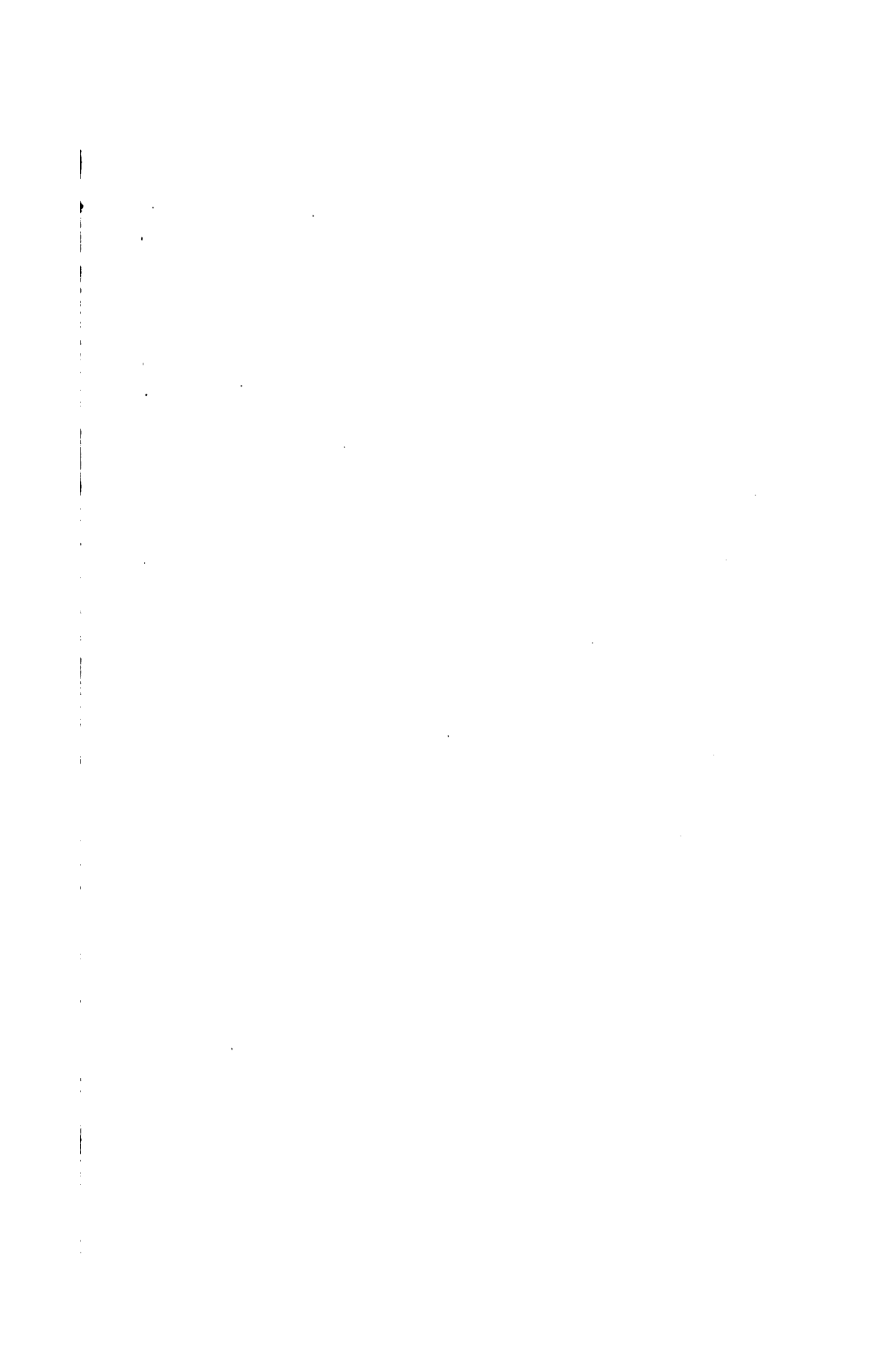














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